/For an explicit description of what is meant by clan in this file see: 1: Orans, p. 10ff./

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619 [175] have achieved. For the traditional Santal, membership in the tribe constitutes the widest bond of social identification. This is true even though as far back as historical records extend (to the early nineteenth century), the Santal have not been politically unified. Beneath the level of the somewhat nebulous tribe there are interpenetrating territorial and kinship organizations.

[634] [192] Territorially, the largest formally organized unit is the *Pargana* (Hindi = a subdivision of a district), a loose confederation of approximately a dozen villages bound together to settle certain judicial questions. Its proceedings are conducted by a "Chief" [621] (*Parganath* in Bengali or *Desh-Pradhān* in Hindi). The village (*ato*) is the only other formally organized territorial unit and is often divided into sections (*tola* in Hindi). Village "Chiefs" [622] [192] are known as *Mąñjhi* or *Pradhān* (Hindi = Headman); other village officials include an "Assistant Chief" or "Chiefs" (*Jog-*[192] *mąñjhi*) and a "Village Priest" (*Naeke*).

• 614 [192] The widest separate kinship unit is the "Clan" (*Paris:* or *Jāti,** Hindi = Caste). According to the Santal creation myth there should be twelve clans; in fact there appear to be only nine. Clan membership, like all inheritance, is determined patrilineally. Containing thousands of members, the clan is, of course, a fictitious kinship unit; apart from bearing a name and the presumption of some common rituals performed by its constituent local lineages, the clan has few "likenesses" to bind it together and does not exist as a corporate unit. The clan is, nonetheless, an exogamous social entity which serves as a reference point establishing kinship relations among all Santal. Santal unable to trace "actual" common relatives can establish their kin relationship via the clan; for example, a non-kin of the same sex and same clan might be regarded as a brother,

* *Jāti* is also used by the Santal to refer to the tribe as a unit.

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614 or an older man of one's mother's clan might be regarded as mother's brother.

The kinship groups within the clan are the sub-clan,* the local lineage, and the extended family, all of which are patrilineal. Each of the many sub-clans within a clan bears a distinctive name, and marriage within the sub-clan is even more severely punished than marriage within the clan. While smaller than the clan it also has thousands of members and is perforce a fictitious kinship group, though on occasion many members within a range of several hundred square miles will assemble for a sub-clan ceremony. The local lineage is a group of patrilineal male kinsmen living within a few miles of one another, periodically worshiping as a unit, and gathering together on such occasions as marriages and funerals. It is the largest corporate group within the kinship system. The patrilineal, patrilocal extended family is a distinctive economic and ritual social unit which often occupies a single house-site, though common residence and economic unity seldom are maintained after the death of the father of the family or the marriage of all of his sons. The nuclear families which together compose the extended family are, as elsewhere, distinguishable units and provide the lines of fracture by which the extended family divides itself.

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[192] * In the literature the sub-clans are referred to as *khūt*, but I found that throughout the territory of the southern Santal there is no such term; in fact, there is no word which designates "sub-clan." To find out which sub-clan a Santal belongs to, it is necessary first to determine his clan and then to place the interrogative "what" (*cili*) before the name of his clan, e.g., *cili Hansdak*! Casual inquiry among the northern Santal indicates that the same condition prevails there. It is possible that the word *khūt* is a mistranscription of *khond*, which refers to the ceremonial circles which Santal draw and indirectly to the local lineage; in this usage one refers to those who worship "at a single circle" (*mit khondren*). But it is not possible to ask a Santal, "What *khond* do you belong to?"

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602 All interaction among Santal is in part regulated by kinship. For a traditional Santal, it is really impossible to establish a relationship of any depth except on the firm bedrock of kinship. [123] Even the queer saheb anthropologist had to be incorporated into the system and make the utmost effort to maintain properly his ramified kinship relations, including ceremonial greetings, joking, and avoidance relations.

602 609 While incorporation into the system is possible, as in the case of an anthropologist or a member of some other caste, it is not the same as with a Santal. No outsider can attain clan membership or affiliation with a local lineage, and there remains an obvious difference between the "fictitious" kinship ties among Santal and those among Santal and outsiders. Indeed, sometimes ties between Santal involving rather close relationships, as among "fictitious" brothers, especially if they are enduring, are difficult to distinguish from relations among actual brothers. In such cases the fictitious brother, originally from some other village or region, may be incorporated into the local lineage of his "brothers," provided that he belongs to the same sub-clan as well; the Santal maintain that the rituals within the various local lineages belonging to a common sub-clan are identical, though in fact they vary considerably.

• 614 Thus while the clan, like the tribe, is both acephalous and non-corporate, it actively serves to maintain and structure the ties of kinship which exist among all Santal. Furthermore, as the most extended of patrilinear kin groupings, and as the ultimately exogamous unit, the clans are necessarily interdependent and thereby contribute to the numerous affinal ties binding together their constituent social units.

While it is unclear from accounts of the northern Santal just who it is that participates in the ceremonial functions assigned

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614 to the sub-clan, one may presume that the large size of the typical sub-clan and its necessary dispersion prevent the assembling of anything more than a very limited part of its membership. This is certainly the case among the southern Santal, though I have been told that on a few occasions members of a sub-clan have assembled within a territory as broad as the whole district of Mayurbhanj. But such meetings are difficult to arrange and so costly that they cannot be frequent.

The named sub-clan, like the clan, serves to orient kin relations, and as mentioned, enables strangers to be taken into the bosom of a functioning local lineage. It is also the exogamous unit par excellence, i.e., marriage within the sub-clan is unthinkable incest while marriage within the clan, though it is forbidden and usually punished, is a much less serious offense. This difference reflects the much larger size of the clan, the relative weakness of its internal connections, and the lack of "likenesses" within its far-flung organization.

613 But it is the local lineage which has a truly corporate character, though this corporateness is largely confined to ceremonial activity. The members of this unit share common "house deities" (*ọrak' boṅga* = house deity) and ancestral spirits, and they celebrate these together at about two- to six-year intervals. These celebrations, in which all male members of the local lineage join together, are held in fields and known as "field worship" (*thandi boṅga* = field deity). Each local lineage has its own distinctive ritual practices, and these practices tend to be kept in considerable secrecy, often being held in fields remote from any village and at hours when villagers are likely to be asleep. Some lineages maintain that anyone viewing their ritual offerings at "field worship" will be stricken ill and die. Still, a number of local lineages invite a few non-lineage members

613 776 782 [92]

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177 Although the Santal used to do some weaving and pottery-
439 making, they have traditionally obtained almost everything ex-
[286] cept foodstuffs and a few forest products from neighboring
[323] tribal or Hindu peoples. Even the drums and the flutes which
[534] are so integrated in the "pleasure" complex are invariably purchased from Hindu specialists. Furthermore, elite borrowings have often become "naturalized," i.e., accepted as Santal and then widely adopted so as to close the gap. Nevertheless, emulation of Hindus did not always go unnoticed and it will be recalled that there is evidence of resistance to such Hinduization.

177 The many Hindu cognates in this text give some indication
197 of the extent of linguistic borrowing. Only a few Santal kin
[601] terms are of non-Indo-European origin, and the system of
[614] dyadic relations among kin is very much like that of the Hindus; one of the largest clans, Hansdak', has a name clearly of Indo-European origin (*hans* = duck in Santali and Hindi), but one also notes the syncretism with the non-Indo-European
[538] (*dak'* = water in Santali). Even parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are sung in Santali and on occasion the Santal are allowed to enter the tale. Considering the prevalence of "parochialization" and "universalization" in India,[20] it is possible that some of what is common to the two cultures is of Santal origin. But the heavy incorporation of vocabulary clearly of Indo-European origin suggests that the flow was largely from the Hindus to the Santal.

177 Prior to industrial employment in this century a small cul-
178 tural gap separated the elite and common Santal. Though there
184 was some differential emulation of Hinduism it was largely of isolated traits which often became naturalized, and the basic "pleasure" orientation of the Santal was hardly altered.

[20] Marriott 1955:211.

[P. 44 is blank]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

Then the moon (woman-kind, we know their craftiness) covered all her daughters up in a huge basket; thereupon she went to the old man and said to him: I have eaten and made an end of all my ones; how is it, the hot rays are not abating. Only if you also eat your sons, then only will the human beings be saved. In this way the old wife outwitted the old man; the foolish old man complied with what the woman said and really ate all his sons. It became night, O great mother, he saw them, all her ones are there. Then he became furiously angry, and taking his sword he pursued and reached the old woman and cut her; he might have made an utter end of her; but as the old woman gave him two daughters, she cooled him down a little. 773

Even now he continues to pursue her; and when he remembers her craftiness, he cuts her, month after month; only when the old man's soul cools down, the moon gets a little relief for a couple of days. The names of the two daughters, that the old man got, are Bhurkạ[2] and the evening star.

As most of the people of the present age erroneously call Siṅ boṅga Ṭhạkur, in the same way they call all bongas their Ṭhạkur when they make an invocation. They invoke them saying: Be greeted, Lord, Father my Ṭhạkur. In this way they are honouring them, in order that they may help them with pleasure; otherwise they are not Ṭhạkur; they are only bongas. 776

b. The bongas.

Among the bongas the Sun bonga is our great bonga. After him comes the Jọm sim bonga; after him Maraṅ buru (his real name is Liṭạ), after him Jahẹ̄r era, the Lady of the sacred grove (her real name is Ram Sạlgi), after her Mọ̄ṛẹ̄ko Turniko, The Five (we certainly praise The Six, but we do not sacrifice to them), after these Gosāe era (her Ladyship), after her Pargana haṛam, after him Mạṅjhi haṛam bonga, after him the (Oṛak̆) House bonga, and after him the Abge bonga. Besides these the ojhas have separate bongas[3]; persons who wish to become rich worship Wealth-bongas[4]. There are boundary bongas, bongas of the hollowed-out water-holes in rivers, bongas of the water-pools, bongas of tree-roots and stumps, forest bongas, mountain bongas, and so on.

The Abge[5] bongas are numerous; the different septs have different ones; the same is the case with the House bongas[6] also. Those of the same sept are not the same either, while those of different septs also may be the same. The name of the Abge bonga and of the House bonga they do not make known to other people, neither do they tell their women-folk. 614 776 784

[2] The morning star, Venus. The word is borrowed from Hindi. [3] The names of the numerous bongas invoked by the ojhas will be found in the writer's paper Studies in Santal Medicine and Connected Folklore, Part I, p. 64 ff. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. X. [4] See Dictionary s. v. kisẹ̄ṛ boṅga. [5] See Dictionary s. v. [6] See Dictionary s. v. Oṛak̆ boṅga.

614 776 When an old man is dying, he tells the name in a whisper to his eldest son, before he departs. From primeval times we gurus know the names of the Abge bongas and House bongas of all septs. The Abge of some of the Hāsdaḱ sept is Dhara Sǭṛḕ or Dhara Saṇḍa (of the Nij Hāsdaḱ sept), and Kaṭkǫm Kudrạ, and their House bonga is Bāspahaṛ and Desoali. The Abge of the Kisku sept is Campa dana gaṛ, and their House bonga is Sǭs; the Abge of the Hembrom sept is Gaṛsiṅkạ and Lilạ cạndi, and their House bonga is Gurṣiạ. The Abge bonga of the Mạrṇḍi sept is Dhanghara and their House bonga Gurṣiạ. The Abge bongas of the Murmu sept are Kudrạ Cạṇḍi, Bahaṭa, Duạr Sḗṛḕ, Kudraj, and Gosāe Rae, and their House bonga is Baṭpahaṛ; the Abge bonga of the Soren sept is Acrạli, and their House bongas are Gurṣiạ and Sar Cạṇḍi; the Abge bonga of the Ṭuḍu sept is Dhanghara, and their House bonga Ṭhuṇṭạ tursạ; the Abge bonga of the Baske sept is Desoali, and their House bonga is Baṭpahaṛ; and the Abge bonga of the Besra sept is Campa dana gaṛ, and their House bonga is Sǭs. The names of the Abge bongas of the Pạ̄uriạ sept and of the Cǭṛḕ sept I have forgotten.

776 The Jǫm sim[7] bonga is also different with them. Some call their Jǫm sim bonga Panhar, others Anhaṛ, others Boerạṅgi, others Seowani, others Baraṅ baraṅ, and again others Baḍha Ahaṅ. The bongas of the ojhas are Siṅbạhni, Maraṅ buru, Kạmru guru, Sidhạ guru, Gaṇḍo guru, Lǫhbǫr guru, Buạṅ guru, Jitu guru, and others, and the guru from whom the ojha has learnt. The name of one wealth-bonga is Kal Cāora. The wealth-bongas, people tell, steal from other people and bring it to their own master. Now and then wealth-bongas rob each other, it is told, and the master of the one among them who gains, he gets much wealth. Now and then, people tell, the wealth-bongas have been driven away by people. One day a wealth-bonga was carrying paddy in a sling away from a man's threshing-floor; just then the owner of the paddy happened to come, and taking him to be a thief, he threw something at him making a great deal of rattling noise; he chased him right up to the house of his master. The bonga got quickly inside and was running about all over and in the sacred closet, making a rumbling sound; he broke all the earthenware pots and vessels into pieces. The man who was chasing him called out to the master of the house and made him get up and reviled him to his heart's content; he said to him: This is your stealing bonga; I have chased him and driven him inside your house; who knows for how long a time he has been bringing my things here; therefore nothing matures for me. From that time on, whenever this man came to the house of these people, the bonga ran in fear about all over and in the sacred closet, making a rumbling sound; therefore the master of the house implored that man, saying: Don't come to us; in fear of you the bonga is breaking all we have into pieces.

[7] See Dictionary s. v.

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The words of the ancestors are ended. I learnt from Buku guru in the village Pabea in the Pañdra country, and I have made you two, Kerap Saheb[1] and old Jugia my disciples. As you two have become gurus, make disciples in the country, in order that the words may not be lost; may they remain generation after generation.

We Kerap Saheb and Jugia haram of Citragaria in Nankar have written down the words of the ancestors that our guru old Kolean finished telling us on the 15th February 1871, in accordance with the original paper.

[614]
[582]

The old guru is no more; therefore we here below write a couple of matters that were not written at that time: The twelve septs of the Santals were in Campa again divided, every sept into twelve subsepts. Santals cannot marry one of their own sept, and not their mother or aunt or wife of mother's brother or father's sister, nor the children of these. As in Campa people of the Kisku sept and of the Marṇḍi sept became at enmity with each other, they do not intermarry even now, and because people of the Ṭuḍu sept and of the Hesa sept became at enmity there, they do not contract marriages up to this day. Even if they join them together by force, they do not get on together.

Benagaria, the 5th August 1887.

L. O. Skrefsrud.
Jugia haram.

[1] The Santali corruption of Skrefsrud Sahib.

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539 [192] Then came temptation in the shape of an old man (*Liṭà*)[1] who introduced himself as Gòròm Baba (*grand-father*). With soft speech, the old man (*Liṭà*) lured the first-parents to prepare a drink and then to drink the liquor. They got drunk. And soon they behaved as man and wife.

Next morning while they were still tipsy, Gòròm Baba reappeared and enquired, "Hallo, how are you doing? Why don't you come out?"

And they awoke and discovered themselves nudes, for the first time in their lives. Then they felt ashamed and said, "How can we come out? We have no clothes on."

Gòròm Baba went away smiling. The Haṛam and Ayo wove shirts of fig (*Ficus indica*) and clothed themselves. Henceforward, they increased and multiplied.

[614] In course of time, they grew in large numbers, till there were seven clans of the tribe, viz. Hansdak', Murmu, Kiskù, Hèmbròm, Màrṇḍi, Sòrèn and Tuḍu. It is noteworthy that inter-marriage within the same clan was prohibited from the very beginning of things.

Now from Hihiṛi Pipiṛi, the early Santals migrated to Khòj kaman. Khòj kaman means the place

1. Liṭà is, according to the traditions, the real name of Maraṅ Buru, and is preserved in the word *liṭà ak'*, meaning the rainbow (Ref. *Dt. Gazetteer*, S. P. 1910, p. 118).

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539 Menak' menak' Harata ho,
Menak' menak' buru dander ho.
Onareliñ tahèⁿkana àliñ do,
Onareliñ sorolen.

This may be roughly translated as follows:—

For seven days, nights seven,
it rained fire and fire.
For seven days and nights seven,
rained water in floods.
O Ye men! Where ye then?
Where did you shelter take?

The reply sings:—

Behold there is a mountain called Harata,
Behold there is a cave therein, where we hid.
And therein, therein we escaped unhurt.

173 At Harata,[1] a new generation sprang up, a race of good men and women. And in course of time they multiplied in large numbers. Then they migrated to Sasañ beḍa, the plain of turmeric. Here [614] they separated into five more clans than they did at Hihiri Pipiri, viz. Baske, Besra, Pàuṇria, Còṛèⁿ[2] and Bedea (now extinct). So altogether, like the Israelites there were now twelve clans of the Santals.

1. Risley spells the name as Hara.

[114] [104] 2. The spelling adopted by Risley is "Chore". The Mayurbhanj Census report (1931) p. 192 Vol. 1 spells it as "Chane" but the Santals were heard to pronounce it in a manner more akin to Risley's transliteration of the name.

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The sister sings: -

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Dādarè Indan Siñ Mandan Siñ,
Dadarè chuṭalòñ Campa ka gaṛ.
Bàhinge na kando, na khijò,
Bàhinge hate ka sàṅka bicòñ ;
Bàhinge kane ka sona bicòñ,
Bahinge tao hona lèbò Campa ka gaṛ.

The above is roughly rendered as following: —
O brothers, Indan Siñ and Mandan Siñ.
O brothers, we lost Campa gaṛ.

The brothers said in reply :—
O do not cry, do not cry, O our sister dear.
Campa gaṛ shall we conquer back,
By selling your bracelets and ornaments of ear.

The Santal sojourn at Campa is also noted for a serious civil war between the Kisku and the Màrṇḍi clans. There is also a song describing the fight: —

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Beret', beret', beret'mè sè, gateñ ho,
Cirgàl, cirgàl, cirgàlmè sè, gateñ ho,
Kòeṇḍako mapak' gòpòc' kan.

Beret', beret', beret'mè sè gateñ ho,
Cirgàl, cirgàl, cirgàlmè sè, gateñ ho,
Badoliko nèṇpèṇt' gòpòc' kan.

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Cete làgit' mapak' kana, gateñ ho,
Cete làgit' gòpòc' kana, geteñ ho,
Cete làgit' nènpènt' gòpòc' kan ?

Simà làgit' mapak' kana, gateñ ho,
Ḍàṇḍi làgit gòpòc' kana gateñ ho,
Ḍàṇḍi làgit' nènpènt' gòpòc' kan.

The above folk-song may thus be rendered to bring out its sense:—

First stanza:—

Get up, get up, O my friend;
Watch, watch, O my friend,
Look here, the *Kòeṇḍas*[1] are killing.

Second stanza:—

Get up, get up, O my friend;
Watch, watch, O my friend,
Look here, the *Badolis*[2] are killing.

Third stanza:—

The friend in reply asks:—

What are they fighting for, O my friend,
What are they killing for?
What are they destroying each other for?

1. Kòeṇḍas—Kiskus.
2. Badolis—Maṛṇḍis.

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Fourth stanza:—

For land are they fighting,
For boundary are they fighting,
For homestead are they fighting.

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Here an explanation is forthcoming as to who the Kharwars were. We have already seen that some Kharwars are said to have accompanied Ram Chandra, in his fight against Ravana of Lanka (Ceylon). Now the Santal traditions say that upto the period the people were at Campa, the Santals, Birhors, the Mundàs and Kurmbis (Kurmis)[1] were called Kharwars. The Birhors were outcast because they ate the flesh of monkeys, considered as their taboo.[2] At Campa, the Mundàs were gradually separated and the Kurmbis gradually adopted Hindu customs.

We hear that some Kharwars entered into matrimonial alliances with a section of the Hindus known as Siñs. Gradually their descendants became known as Siñs. They founded kingdoms. Some Birhors also became Siñs.

It is narrated that in ancient times one of the Siñs lived as man and wife with a daughter of a

1. A Santal can now even marry a Kurmbi girl. They are now found more in Hazaribagh, Manbhum and Purulia. [582]

2. The Santals of Mayurbhanj said that they never ate monkeys. [262]

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calling "Ṭhàkur Jiu' as "Dhòròm". Nabin Mañjhi, Headman of Chamardahani, Muruda, explained that Dhòròm is the Creator of the world according to Santal belief. Being asked if the deity is worshipped at present by the Santals, he replied that Dhòròm is invoked during all marriage ceremonies with offerings of pure water and nothing else. Closely questioned as to whether the god had any shape or form, he answered that he had none and was 'nirakar' (*formless*). Secondly, the Santals of Muruda led by Nabin Mañjhi gave us some additional information as to how the first parents prepared the first drink. This was what they did. Gòṛòm baba asked them to grind grass-seeds and later directed them to bring the water from a fountain called *tatijhari*, by drinking which the monkeys became drunk as it washed the roots of a plant named *ràṇu ran*.[1] [A plant of the name exists in Mayurbhanj and is extensively used in the preparation of hàṇḍia (*rice-beer*)]. Then these two substances were mixed together to make the drink of the first parents. Thirdly, we have seen in the foregoing account that the Santals, while at Hihiṛi Pipiṛi were divided into seven clans and it is only after their migration from Sasaṅ beda that they

1. Ràṇu—The ferment used in the manufacture of rice-beer, Ran—drug (Dr. Campbell).

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added five more. The Mayurbhanj Santals did not agree with this, although it tallies with the account of Risley.[1] They said that all the clans were formed together and narrated a story to support their contention. According to them Pilcu Haṛam and Pilcu Buḍhi had twelve sons. All of them went for a hunt and after returning, some asked their mother for water, others for food. The mother saw that each of her sons had brought a particular article along with him. Henceforth, their respective clans were formed accordingly. Thus the son who had brought home a "murum," (*a horn-less animal, Nilgae or blue cow, Portax picta*) came to be known as Murmu. Màrṇḍi was named so because he ate the husks of corn, Hansdak' because he had killed a wild duck. The name Ṭuḍu came from the wild-fowl, Besra from wild-buffalo, Pànuria (*called Copeyar in Mayurbhanj*) from wild-pigeons, Gòndowar from dàṇḍkà-hako, a kind of fish, and Còṛèn from a lizard. Of the rest *Baske* derived his name from the *baske*[2] (fermented rice) he had eaten and Hèmbròm, because of a fruit he had brought (said to be *tiril*, Oriya *kendu*, a fruit like mangosten). No explanation was forthcoming as to how the Kiskus and Sòrèns

1. Risley, *People of India*, App. VII, page clix.

2. Baske = left over from the previous meal, fusty, stale, unfinished. (Campbell's dictionary).

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derived their names. About them, the Mayurbhanj Santals added that Kisku did not bring anything, while returning from hunt. He was the eldest, so he was known as Kisku and was their tribal chief, while Sòrèn became his orderly. Gòndwar did not go to the hunt at all, so he was considered as the worst of all the clans.

Risley does not think that the story of the wandering of the Santals deserves serious consideration "neither as a record of actual wandering, nor as an example of the working of the myth-making faculty."[1] Considering how from the same data Mr. Skrefsrud tried to prove that the Santals came from the North-west and Col. Dalton from Assam, he concludes that both the hypotheses are untenable. Continuing he says,[2] "If, however, the legends of the Santals are regarded as accounts of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts. Without pressing the conjecture mentioned above, that Ahiri pipri may be no other than pargana Ahuri in the north-west of Hazaribagh district, it is clear that a large and important Santal colony was once settled in the parganas Chai and Champa in the same district. A tradition is noticed by Col. Dalton of an old fort in Chai occupied by

1. Risley, *People of India*, App. vii, p. clix.
2. Risley, *People of India*, App. viii, p. clix.

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and she happens to be late by half-an-hour, she will smile and show you the sun, saying "I won't work. I am late." "But you may be late and still you may work," you may protest. "A day is being lost for you." "*Baṅ*," she will quietly answer. "*Baṅ*" means 'No' and Santal traditions are silent if Ṭhàkur Jiu taught them during the days of Pilcu Haṛam and Pilcu Buḍhi, "Don't yield after saying *Baṅ*."

562 461 [192] [773] [577]

Tribal Division

We have already seen that the clans mentioned number twelve according to Santal traditions, referred to at length in the first chapter. Now let us place side by side the names of these clans as investigated by ethnologists of repute and workers amongst the Santals, maintaining, so far as possible, the spellings as adopted by them, together with our list obtained from Mayurbhanj.

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The task of finding out the meanings of the clan names is a difficult but interesting task facing an ethnologist. In the previous pages we have already given the reader an idea of the genesis of the clan-names according to tradition. Old Santals, when questioned at Mayurbhanj, gave conflicting versions of the popular tradition. But the meaning of at least a few of them are very clear. Thus "Hansdak'," certainly refers to the goose. "Hans"

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

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	Traditional	Col. Dalton	Dr. Campbell	Risley	Man	Rev. Skrefsrud	The author
1.	Ha*n*sdak'	Handsa	Ha*n*sdak'	Hansdak'	Hansda	Hasdak'	Ha*n*sdak'
2.	Murmu	Murma	Murmu	Murmu	Marmoring Murmu	Murmu	Murmu
3.	Kisku	Kisku	Kisku	Kisku	Kisku	Kisku	Kisku
4.	Hèmbròm	Hemrow	Hèmbróm	Hèmbròm	Hèmròm	Hemrom	Hèmbròm
5.	Màrṇḍi	Marlí (?)	Màrṇḍi	Marndi	Mardi	Mandri	Màṛṇḍi
6.	Sòrèn	Saran	Sòrèn	Saren	Soren	Soren	Sòrèn
7.	Ṭudu	Túdi	Ṭuḍu	Tudu	Tudu	Tudu	Ṭuḍu
8.	Baske	Baski	Baske	Baske	Baski	Baske	Baske
9.	Besra	Besera	Besra	Besra	Bisra Besra	Besra	Besra
10.	Pàu*n*ria	Nil	Pàurià Pàulia	Pauria	Nil	Paoria	Pàu*n*ria
11.	Còn*ṛ*èn	Chorai	Còn*ṛ*èn	Chore	Nil	Chore	Còn*ṛ*en
12.	Bedea	Nil Karwar	Nil	Bedea	Nil Kedoar (?)	Nil	Nil Gòndwar

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in Santali means a goose, and "dak'" means water. "Hèmbròm" means betel-nut, "Murmu" means Murum jel, the Nil gae, or blue cow, (Portax pictu), "Màṛṇḍi," a weed of rice cultivation (*Ischaemum rugosum*, Salisb.) and "Sòrèn," the constellation of Pleiades (sòrènko). We shall have occasion to discuss these meanings further in course of the forthcoming pages. It ought to be mentioned, however, that Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Vol. II, page 125) gives the following meanings of the Santal clan-names: Bedea (*Sheep?*), Besra (*Hawk*), Hemrom, Hembram (*Betel-palm*), Marndi (*Grass*), Murmu (*Nil gai*) and Soren (*Constellation of Pleiades*). About the rest he is silent. Rev. P. O. Bodding in his *Santali to English Dictionary* does not give the meanings of the clan-names particularly, but his note on the origin of the Besras is worth quoting. "The story that they are despised because they formerly were licentious is probably due to the word "bèsròm" (*obstinate, licentious*) but this word is much younger than the name of the sept."

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Several points in the comparative list given above require to be elucidated. Col. Dalton, while maintaining that the tribes number twelve, omits the twelfth viz. *Bedea*, which is thought to be an extinct branch according to almost all the authorities. Similarly, Dr. Campbell gives eleven names, adding that one has been lost.

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614 174 101 that one has been lost. Regarding the *Bedeas*, it is important to note the fact that there exists in Mayurbhanj, a tribe of aboriginals bearing the same name. And naturally it struck us if the extinct clan of the original Santals developed into a separate tribe in course of time. Our enquiries revealed however that the *Bedias* of Mayurbhanj do not identify themselves as Santals in origin, nor do the Santals consider them to be of their tribe. The 101 162 following extract from the *Census Report of Mayurbhanj*, Vol. I, page 157 may usefully be quoted here:—

"According to the present census, the total strength of the Bedias, who call themselves *Chot Kurmi* or *San Kurmi*, is 578, with 292 males and 286 females. They are all returned from the Bamanghati subdivision. Though they claim to be allied in one way or another to the *Kurmis*, the latter relegate them to the position of that class of gypsies, acrobats and snake-catchers, who under a similar name but with a different spelling (*Bediya*) are found in Bihar. This small tribe is known in the state for their filthy habits and criminal propensities."

101 174 In this connexion, it is however important to remember that the *Kurmis* (or Kuṛmbis) with whom the *Bedias* of Mayurbhanj ally themselves, belonged to the parent stock of the Santals in course of their

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legendary migrations as we have already seen in the first chapter; and it was only at Campa that the *Kurmbis* adopted Hindu customs and manners. Therefore, there is a strong presumption that *Bedeas* who call themselves *Chot Kurmi*, might have once belonged to the Santal fold.

Coming to Man's list of Santal tribes, we find that he sticks to the traditional number twelve; but makes up the deficiency by referring to *Besras* and *Murmus* twice, under different spellings. Thus *Besras* pass also as *Bisras* and *Murmu* comes again as *Marmoring*. This mistake perhaps occurred in this way. Presumably Man asked a Santal about his clan and the man replied, "Murmu iñ." (*I am a Murmu.*) And from this he noted down the name of the tribe as "*Marmoring*".

There is general agreement about the names of clans (although with different spellings) except about *Bedeas*, *Kharwars* and *Gondwars*. An attempt should be made here to clear the prevailing confusion amongst ethnographers.

Kharwars

We find from Man and Col. Dalton's lists that they mention *Kedoar* and *Karwar* respectively as Santal clans. Presumably they are the same, under different spellings, of what is known as *Kharwars*. We have seen in our story of Santal Genesis and

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Migration that the original people called themselves *Kharwars*. Even today this tradition passes current amongst the Santals of Mayurbhanj, who say that their alternative name is "Kherwal" (with hard 'l'), although their common appellation is *Santal*. It is gathered that the Santals of Dhalbhum also call themselves *Kherwal* (with soft 'l'). The educated amongst the Santals believe that the word *Kherwal* is derived from the name of some ancient place somewhere in Bengal, where the pure Santals lived. For this they rely on the fact that they have some old songs which relate to "Gang nàni" which they identify with the Ganges. Therefore they believe that the place from which the name *Kherwal* was derived was somewhere in Bengal. There are, however, no *Kharwars* in Mayurbhanj as distinct from *Kherwals*[1].

Mr. Ragunath Mañjhi, a Santal teacher of Bamanghati, Mayurbhanj, was, however, inclined to the belief that the name came from *Kshatriyas*, meaning "those who fight". He also referred to a story current that the original Santals had a leader whose name was *Kharwar* and it is from him that they derived their name. Such popular beliefs were shared by many, as we found in course of our investigations.

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1. With acknowledgments to M. Laeequaddin, Esq. Census Officer, Mayurbhanj.

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All these however lead us nowhere. And all that we can guess in the absence of more reliable evidence is that there is no independent clan amongst the Santals bearing the name of *Kharwars* or *Kherwals*, and that perhaps some Santals when questioned by Man and Col. Dalton gave their clan as *Karwar* or *Kedoar* as the alternative of *Kharwars*, the traditional name for Santals, before they came to Saont or Sant in Midnapore.

It should be mentioned here that Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, gives the following equivalent of the general name Santal viz. *Saontar*, *Kharwar*, or *Safa-Hòr* and mentions *Kharwars* or *Safa-Hor* as 'sub-tribes' as well, but not as a sept (clan) name. We should add that the very name *Safa-Hòr* is not now much understood by the Mayurbhanj Santals. But we have very reliable evidence[1] to say that there was, in 1871, a movement in the Santal Parganas known as the *Kharwar movement* when some Santals declared themselves as *Safa-Hòr* (the pure men), after eschewing fowls, pigs and intoxicating liquor, but taking "gañja," (hemp, Canabinis Sativa) and tried to bring it on a line with Hindu practices. It led at a time to some local ferment and had also a political aspect. But beyond

1. Ref. *Dt. Gazetteer*, Santal Parganas, 1910, p. 145.

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this we do not know anything and no light is available to assert that *Kharwar* was ever a clan name.

It should, however, be noted here that the Mayurbhanj Census Report, 1931, (Vol. I, p. 215) opines that "the present Santals are the descendants of the section of the tribe who became followers of Bhagirath (the leader of the Kharwar movement)—a Santal who endeavoured to start a movement to turn out the Sahibs and Zemindars out of the country and who was tried for sedition in 1871 and imprisoned at Bhagalpur where he died."

Gòndwars

The Santals of Mayurbhanj when questioned invariably answered that they were twelve clans, but they made no mention of the *Bedea* (supposed to be lost) and made up for the deficiency by mentioning *Gòndwars*. This was remarkable as in no other account do we come across such a name. In course of searching enquiries also we could not meet any *Gòndwar*. [The Mayurbhanj Census Report (1931, Vol. I, p. 192) also mentions the clan.]

The general belief among the Santals is that *Gòndwars* occupy a low position among them as they are supposed to be a cross between *Gònd-Muṇḍà* and *Santals*. There is in existence in Mayurbhanj a class of "Hansdak's" called "Gòndwar-Hansdak's" and they are considered distinctly low in the esti-

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mation of the Santals, as distinct from other sub-clans as "Kuda-Hansdak," "Bale Hansdak" who are considered pure. It is said that the *Gòndwars*, in their attempt to conceal their real identity declare themselves as belonging to the *Sòrèn* clan, whereas, in their manner of worship they differ from the Sòrèns radically, thereby giving a clue to their identity.

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The derivation of the very word *Gòndwar* points to their connexion with the Gònds. The ending "war" probably means "relating to." In saying so, we rely on the fact that one of the sub-clans of the *Murmus* call themselves *Khedwar-Murmu*. According to them they derived the name from the circumstance that their progenitors chased and hunted a "Murum" (*Nil gae* ; *Portax Pictu*). *Khedwar* here means those related to a chase (*khed* = chase, *war* = relating to).[1]

Clan Exogamy and Totemism

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At this stage we should note that all these clans are exogamous ; and presumably to preserve the blood from being contaminated by unconscious incest, they have certain pass-words to distinguish

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1. Regarding Bedeas, Kharwars and Gòndwars, we must acknowledge the help received from Moulavi M. Laeequddin, Census Officer, Mayurbhanj.

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614 192 them. These symbols are supposed to be connected with the names of their original home in Campa. That the guess is well-founded will be apparent from the story of their migration where we saw that the *Màṛṇḍis* lived at Badoligarh, the *Hèmbròms* lived at Khairigarh, *Kiskus* at Koendagarh and *Tudus* at Simgarh and these they still carry on as vivid memories of their past.[1]

614 Secondly, these clans are totemistic. The Santal thinks that certain relationship exists between him and some physical phenomena or some tangible object as an animal, a bird or even some plant or grass. Thus *Murmus* revere the *nilgai*, "Hansdak's" hold sacred the duck, *Màṛṇḍis* salute if they happen to cut "Màṛṇḍi" grass. The general rule is that a member of the same totem will never kill or hurt the object he derives his name from, nor will he tolerate intermarriage within the clan. But as we

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1. These pass-words are enumerated by Risley as follows;—1. Hasdak' = Tatijhari, Gangijauni, Kara guja, Sohodoro. 2. Murmu = Champagarh, Baghumbha, Naran Majhi. 3. Kisku = Kundagarh. 4. Hembrom = Kunda, Khairigarh, Jalaghatia. 5. Marndi = Badoligarh, Jelen sinjo, Dhano Manjhi. 6. Saren = Anbali, Barha, Pero Pargana. 7. Tudu = Simgarh., Sukrihutup Baru Manjhi. 8. Baske = Ranga, Chunukjhandu. 9. Besra = Dhokrapalania, Gulu, Phagu Manjhi.

People of India, App. VIII. P. cix.

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But as we shall see in detail later, the stringency of these ancient customs has slackened considerably as some of the totems are names of essential articles of food, and the branching off into numerous sub-clans has made the position easier to avoid the penalty and the stigma of a marriage within the clan.

Clans and sub-clans

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We shall now examine the clans (called *padit* in Mayurbhanj) in detail on the basis of our investigations in Mayurbhanj and enumerate the sub-clans as traced there. Almost all the authorities follow the Santal traditions in giving the priority to the "Hansdak'." The reason is not very clear. Nowhere in the traditions do we come across any light as to why a superiority should be given to any clan ; rather the honour, if at all deserved, should go to the *Murmu*, also called *Murmu* Thàkur, whose presence in a Santal feast is construed to be the compliment paid to the purity of the clan maintained by the host. But, curiously enough, the order of ethnological precedence goes to the "Hansdak'." Man, in his *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, reasons that the largest and the most powerful tribe took the name "Hansdak'." We have heard an educated "Hansdak'" maintaining that this is the first and the best 'caste' with a Brahmanical pride in his speech, because he read so in the books of the Mis-

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61 sionaries. The scope is very wide for corroboration, but the cue taken by the "Hansdak'" and perhaps the Missionary, may come from the mythical origin of the Santal first parents from "hans hàsil" (a pair of geese), which remains to this day to be the totem of one clan viz. "Hansdak'." We, in the absence of further materials to go upon, propose to follow the order already maintained in the myth of their origin. These clans, as we have already seen, are called *padit* in Mayurbhanj, whereas the sub-clans are called *paris*.

1. *Hansdak'*

The name of this clan is derived from "Hans" (*goose*), "Dak'" (*water*). All the "Hansdak's" we met with in Mayurbhanj reported to us that they are prohibited from eating "Hans" (goose). We received from them, the following list of their sub-clans :—

i. Nij Hansdak'—A member of this sub-clan, Pradhan Basu Hansdak' of Asanjora, told us that they can eat all ducks except "Nàni Hans" (river duck) and "Raj Hans," a story corroborated elsewhere.

ii. Sikli or Sikri Hansdak'—We were told that the members of this sub-clan wear *sikri* (iron chain) round their necks during their festival called *Jòni Sim*, and have no special food prohibition.

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iii. Gere Hansdak'—They were met with in Kapti-pada. 614 •

iv. Cil Bindha Hansdak'—They cannot eat "Nàni Hans" (*river duck*).

v. Kundà Hansdak'

vi. Bale Hansdak'

2. *Murmu*

The Murmus are generally reported to have *murum* for their totem. "Murum" means a "Nil gae." Nabin Mañjhi, a Pradhan of Muruda, told us that in mythical times when their first ancestor killed a "murum" (a Nil gae) and presented it before Pilcu Haram and Pilcu Budhi, he received his name from the animal he hunted. We were also told that "murum" means a "fungus" and *Murmus* do not eat these. The version may have an interesting background behind it. In their confusion as to what to accept for their totem, the *Murmus* have run after either both the Nil gae or the fungus or selected one of them. Dr. Campbell in his dictionary gives the synonym of "Murum Ot" as a "Species of edible mushroom" and notes that it is taboo to *Murmus*. He, however, equally holds that "murum jel" (the Nil gae or blue cow ; *Portax pictus*.) is also their taboo. We wonder, however, if a future investigator may not come across some *Murmus* who will plead that "Hawal Murum" (*a*

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614 *species of snake*) is their prohibited food, because this is the third meaning of the Santal *Murum*.

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773 The mythical origin of sub-clans of this clan was thus narrated to us by Mr. Ananta Mañjhi, Sub-Inspector of Police, Mayurbhanj. Prefacing his story with the assertion that the name *Murmu* originated from a Nil gae, he said, "There were some men in a jungle one of whom was sleeping under a tree. A "Nil gae" chanced to run over him and he died. The rest chased the animal and killed it. (1) The men who chased and killed it were called "Khedwar Murmu" (2) Those who cut the bones of the animal came to be known as Samak' Murmu. (*samak'* means to cut).[1] (3) The men who caught hold of the tail of the animal were known as "Nej Murmu" (Nej = *tail*).[2] (4) Some who were resting under a tree nearby had the nomenclature of "Obòr Murmu" (*Obòr* means to *lie down*). Those who decorated themselves with Campa flowers at that time were named "Campa Baha Murmu." (6) The persons whose foreheads were stained with the blood of the animal at the time of cutting and chopping the meat were called "Ṭikà Murmu."

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1. Samak' = to chop, to hack, to chop off or up. Vide Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, page 574. (Santali to English).

2. Dr. Campbell's Dictionary does not contain this word. It is a common enough expression borrowed from the Hindus.

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(7) Some who prepared the leaf-plates (called *Khalla*, in Mayurbhanj) came to be known as "Khalla Murmu." He gave us the names of four more sub-clans, "Biṭòl Murmu," "Sona Murmu," "Chunel Murmu," but could not throw any more light on their origin. 614 773

Whatever their origin might be the *Murmus*, as we found them in Mayurbhanj, formed themselves into the following sub-clans:— 614

(i) Nij Murmu or Nej Murmu.

(ii) Biṭòl Murmu:—About their origin, we were told that one man had five sons and a daughter. Now the brothers went to visit their sister when she gave them a dish of "murum" meat (*Nil gae*). We learn that four of them ate the meal and lost caste (*Biṭòl* = any one who loses caste); while the one who did not, came to be known as Nij Murmu, whose descendants even to this day, salute a "murum" (Nil gae) when they chance to see one. Well-informed Santals told us that the "Biṭòl Murmus" eat the flesh of *Nil gae*. [773]

(iii) Samak' Murmu.

(iv) Ṭikà Murmu:—Those who apply "ṭikà" (*a mark*) on their foreheads like Brahmins. Mr. Raghunath Mañjhi, a Santal school teacher of Rairangpur, Mayurbhanj, told us that Ṭikà Murmus are prohibited from eating the meat of "murum."

(v) Khalla Murmu (*Khalla*, a kind of leaf-cup).

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614 (vi) Campa or Campa baha Murmu:—Campa flowers are taboo to them.

(vii) Obòr Murmu (*Obòr*, to lie down).

(viii) Khedwar Murmu (*Khed*, to drive away). It was reported that "Nil gae" (murum) is no longer taboo to them.

614 784 (ix) Sona Murmu (*Sona*, gold) or Sona Murmu Copeyar or Copeyar Murmu:—The members of this sub-clan, called variously as noted above, neither wear gold ornaments nor use *tasar* clothes. They are also prohibited from taking umbrellas inside their houses, nor do their women wear white shell-bangles (called in Santali, *Sankha*).

614 We closely questioned the Santals on the point of inter-marriage between the various sub-clans. The general answer was that all these sub-clans may marry into the others, according to modern usage, but previously there were many bars. One such instance came to our attention when we asked the Santals about inter-marriage between the Ţikà and Campa sub-clans. Some told us that they have no such practice while others were equally emphatic about its existence. [178] At last the Gordian knot was cut by S.I. Ananta Mañjhi of Udla, when he said that such prohibition existed in the past, but it is now slack, so such marriages now take place. This explanation was agreed to by a Desh Prodhan, one of the leading Santals.

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3. *Kisku*

According to tradition, as we have already seen, the Kiskus were the kings of the Santals (Kisku Rapaz). All Kiskus are only glad to admit it and the rest of the clans do not contradict the story. And we come across such expressions as 'Kisku Raj' as current coin with them. At Mayurbhanj, however, none could throw any light on the sub-clans of the clan nor upon their totem. All that we could gather was a myth about the traditional warfare with the clan *Màṛṇḍi*, with whom up till now the Kiskus can have no inter-marriage.

Explaining the genesis of the clan quarrels, Prodhan Nabin Mañjhi of Muruda said, "Once a Kisku Raja married the daughter of a Màṛṇḍi. He went to bring his wife from his father-in-law's place. But the Màṛṇḍi won't allow her to come with her husband. Then the Kisku Raja took by force a good horse belonging to the Màṛṇḍis, as his own was quite useless. At this the Màṛṇḍis attacked the Raja, who in his turn abused them. Now the Kisku fled to the Sòrèns and related his story, seeking their help against the Màṛṇḍis. Next, with their aid the Kisku Raja fought against his enemy and winning the fight left for home." But what became of the wife, he could not say.

This story, corroborated at Udla, ended with the conclusion that the Kisku did not take his wife home.

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4. *Hèmbròm*

•614 The patronymic of the Hèmbróm clan of the Santals is "Kunàr" or "Hèmbròm Kunàr." An educated Santal explained to us that this clan belonged to the clerical class, but such a job presupposes a written language of which the Santals have none and in the absence of further light, such a clan seems to be doubtful. Rev. Bodding opines that the word "Kunàr" signifies the nobility.

We came across the following sub-clans of the Hèmbròms in Mayurbhanj or had information about them from well-informed Santals.

(i) Nij Hèmbròm.

(ii) Sole Hèmbròm:—"Sole" was explained to be a kind of fish equivalent to the "shoul mach" (a fish) of Bengal.[1] If these Hèmbròms eat "Sole" [183] fish, they have to undergo ceremonial purification. 614 Here, we ought to mention that the Mayurbhanj 114 Census Report[2] mentions the twelfth Santal clan as "Salay." We made extensive enquiries about this, what appeared to us, a new clan and had a little conference with some educated and leading Santals, but we came to the conclusion that this new clan

1. Ref. Dr. Campbell's Santali to English Dictionary, p. 628 where *Sòlè teàh'* is explained as "a large species of Shrimp."

2. Ref. p. 192 *Census Report*, 1931, Mayurbhanj.

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must have been confused with the branch of Sole Hèmbròms. We also met the informant of the tribe to the Census officer and he subsequently agreed with our conclusion. 614 • 114

(iii) Gua Hèmbròm:—"Gua" means "betel-nut." These Hèmbròms do not eat these totems and according to custom rub the forehead of their brides with some vermilion put on such nuts. 614

(iv) Tursi Hèmbròm:—Nabin Mañjhi, Headman of Chamardahani, Muruda, was emphatic that such a sub-clan exists.

(v) Bareliwèt' Hèmbròm:—"Bare" is thought to refer to "bare dare" (the banyan tree; *Ficus bengalensis*, Roxb.) whereas Liwèt' " means "to droop, to bend." The expression "bareliwèt" will therefore mean "a bending banyan tree." The leaves are taboos to this sub-clan of the Santals, for purposes of eating.

(vi) Paita Hèmbròm:—They are said to wear "paita" (*a sacred thread*) when at ceremonial worship.

(vii) Deobans Hèmbròm:—These people are prohibited from eating *bel* fruit and from burning the wood of the *bel*-tree. (*AEgle Marmelos*).

(viii) Hat Hèmbròm:—Referred to in the Mayurbhanj Census Report. *Hat* was explained to be a kind of tree (Bengali, *Kurchi* or *Kutaja*,

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614 *Holarrhena Antidysenterica*). This sub-clan does not eat the leaves of these trees.

(ix) Karda Hèmbròm (Kaḍa Hèmbròm?). Also referred to in the Mayurbhanj Census Report.

5. *Màrṇḍi*

[554] [426] [578] The fifth class is the clan of the Màrṇḍis, the rich men and money-lenders of the Santal traditions, with whom, we have seen, the Kiskus had a severe clash. The term "màrṇḍi" means "a weed of rice cultivation (*Ischaemum rugosum*, Salisb)," and we were told that "màrṇḍi" grass continues to be the totem of the sub-clan, Nij Màrṇḍi, and if any of them chances to uproot one such grass, he will make a profound "johar" (*salutation*) and replant it.

The following sub-clans of the Màrṇḍis were noticed at Mayurbhanj:—

(i) Nij Màrṇḍi—with taboo of "Màrṇḍi" grass.

(ii) Miru baha Màrṇḍi :—The flower of a wild plant which yields a good fibre (*Abutilon Indicum*, Don) is the totem of this sub-clan, and they do not even touch these.

(iii) Bhaduli Màrṇḍi:—An interesting story was narrated to us by Sunaram Sòrèn, a Santal college student of Bamanghati, Mayurbhanj, to explain the genesis of this sub-clan, who, he assures us, traditionally belonged at first to the foregoing "Miru baha" sub-group. He said, "Once a *Miru baha*

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Màrṇḍi was going on a journey on a hot noon of mid-summer. Being tired and unable to bear any more the scorching sun-shine, he began to rest under the shade of a "Bhadu" tree (a forest tree; *Vitex alata*, Roxb.) and soon fell asleep. Soon after, a branch of the tree fell upon him, big enough to crush him dead. 614

The other *Miru baha Màrṇḍis*, who were anxiously awaiting the return of the deceased, noticing his extraordinary delay, trudged on the path followed by their lost friend, and reaching the tree saw the stunning sight. And angry with the tree, they vowed to abolish their clan and proclaimed that they would thenceforth be known as "Bhadulia Màrṇḍi," as their friend died under a "Bhaḍu" tree. (A forest tree. *Vitex alata*, Roxb.)

(iv) Sòle Màrṇḍi—A second story was told to us by the student named above, in explanation of the origin of the name of this sub-clan mentioned by him. It is another version of the fabled antagonism between the Kiskus and Màrṇḍis, between whom, even to this date, there is no inter-marriage. 614 598

Our informant said that once a marriage was arranged between a Kisku lad and a Màrṇḍi bride. The Kiskus, forming the bride-groom's party felt thirsty and went to drink water from a tank nearby, after tying their horse to a tree close at hand. Meanwhile, the Màrṇḍis stole away the horse

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614 cleverly enough. The two clans were already in
578 terms of enmity, so naturally enough, the Kiskus suspected the Màrṇḍis to be the thieves, and wanted to fight with them. A certain date was fixed for this trial of strength and the venue was to be a jungle.

The Màrṇḍis, finding it difficult to fight against a multitude of Kiskus began to cut all the trees at the height of three and a half cubic feet. Next, they tied turbans of different colours on to the trunks so lopped off, so as to look like soldiers. However, this funny plan proved successful on the day of the fight. The Màrṇḍis arrived early and when the Kiskus followed, consternation ran through their hosts at the sight of the overwhelming numbers of their enemies, and they ran helter skelter, for their lives. From that day Màrṇḍis have enmity with the Kiskus. They do not even marry Kisku girls.

614 [776] The Màrṇḍi bride for whom the fighting took place died soon. After her death, she became a goddess in their sub-clan. She is worshipped along with other gods and goddesses of Màrṇḍis. She is worshipped with a *herak' kalòt* (*a brown pullet*. The meat is eaten by all including women too.) One day, when such a ceremony was going on, the "herak' kalòt" (*a brown pullet*) which they offered was found to be a small one, and the meat of the hen was quite insufficient, for the Màrṇḍi

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brothers. So they wanted to "Sòle" (mix) it with rice. And as they mixed, they took another "paris" (sub-clan), namely Sòle Màrṇḍi.

(v) Khandajaha or Khandajagao Màrṇḍi:—They place the weapon (khanda) before the deity while engaged in Jòm Sim puja or propitiating the household deity, "Oṛak' Boṅga."

(vi) Ruth Màrṇḍi:—These Màrṇḍis would not cut or otherwise use the *ruth* tree (*Oriya Panjam*).[1]

(vii) Merachakha Màrṇḍi:—They are so named because they ate first the rice of hàṇḍia (rice-beer). "Mera" means rice, and "chakha" to eat.

(viii) Tarap Màrṇḍi:—Tarap is a tree, called in Oriya, "Charkuli." It is reported that these Màrṇḍis do not cut this tree or eat on its leaves. Others told us that pork is tabooed to this sub-clan and yet others, that they cannot take "mòhua" wine inside their houses according to customary prohibition.

(ix) Sade Màrṇḍi:—It was explained to us that "Sade" means a "hotchpotch of rice and pulse" in Mayurbhanj, and the members of this sub-clan

1. There is no mention of "ruth" in Campbell's dictionary. Most probably it is the same as *Rot*, a common forest tree, Ougenia Dalbergioides Bl. which probably gives the name to Rot Màrṇḍis.

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614 [782] offer this dish to the deity during their Jòm-sim puja.[1]

6. *Sòrèn*

[701] The Santal traditions say that the Sòrèns in mythical times were the fighting class, (Sòrèn Sipahi) equivalent to the Kshatriyas, and supplied the warriors. We come across such expressions as Sòrèn Sipahi in Santal folk-tales. Their totem is the constellation Pleiades. The sub-clans, named below, were noticed in Mayurbhanj.

(i) Man Sòrèn :—They have for their totem "Bhàuṇṭià Jel," a species of deer.

(ii) Nij Sòrèn :—The general totem of the clan viz. the constellation of Pleiades, remains to be the object of their adoration.

(iii) Sidup' Sòrèn :—*Sidup'* means opposite. It was explained that the members of this sub-clan place in the door-way of their cattle-sheds the sheaves of paddy with their corn downwards during the "Sohrae", the Santal Harvest Home. The sub-clan cannot touch these corn, and these must be taken away by others. It was also gathered that during their Jòm sim puja, they prepare a weapon called "bàṇṛsi hapa," (Bàṇṛsi = a fish hook, Hapa =

1. This is perhaps a Mayurbhanj edition of the Sada Màṇḍi, mentioned by Campbell. The word 'Sade' in his dictionary means 'sound'.

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a light-staff) a bayonet-like thing which they fix on the ground on the pointed side, i.e. the opposite.

(iv) Turku lumàm Sòrèn (*Lumam*, means tusser silk and moth, *Antheraea Mylitta*). These Sòrèns do not wear tusser clothes during their ceremonial worship. On this point, Monglu Sòrèn, a Desh Prodhan, told us that they do not allow their daughters to wear *tusser* clothes when sent to their husband's home.

(v) Hàṇḍi Sòrèn:—They do not offer "Hàṇḍia" (*rice-beer*) to their gods during ceremonial worship.

(vi) Kuḍàm Sòrèn:—The members of this sub-clan perform their pujas at the back of their houses. (The word "Kuḍàm" means the rear, behind, at the back, used mainly with reference to a house. Dr. Campbell.)

(vii) Lat' Sòrèn:—Lat' Sòrèns do not wrap up in leaves, for the purpose of cooking in the form of a roast, fish, meat or vegetables.

Added to these, Risley mentions several more sub-clans and notices their peculiar customary practices. They are as follows:—

"Sada Sòrèn:—They do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony in which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods.

Jugi Sòrèn:—They smear their foreheads with *sindur* at the Harvest festival, and go round asking

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614 alms of rice. With the rice they get, they make little cakes which they offer to the gods.

Mañjhi-Khil-Sòrèn:—So called because their ancestor was a *Mañjhi*, village headman. They are forbidden like the Sada Sòrèn, to attend when the priest offers up his own blood.

Naeke-Khil-Sòrèn:—Claim descent from a Naeke (priest), may not enter a house the members of which are ceremonially unclean. They have a *Jabèrthan* of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village.

Òk'-Sòrèn:—They sacrifice a pig or goat inside their houses and during the ceremony they shut the door tight and allow no smoke to escape. The word *Òk'* means to suffocate or stifle with smoke.

Muṇḍu or Badaṛ Sòrèn:—Offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat the flesh of the animals that have been slain.

Mal-Sòrèn:—May not utter the word "Mal" when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *punchayet* to determine any tribal question.

Jihu Sòrèn:—May not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihumala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is

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said to have guided the ancestor of the clan to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest.

Sank Sòrèn: — May not wear shell-necklaces or ornaments.

Barchir (?) Sòrèn: — Plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances.

Bitol Sòrèn: —So called because their founder was excommunicated on account of incest."[1]

7. Tudu

The seventh clan, the Tudus, the musicians of the Santal legends, divides itself into the following sub-clans in Mayurbhanj (according to our information).

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(i) Koi or Kàità Tudu: — They abstain from *Kàità jhingà* (a cultivated plant, the fruit of which is eaten).

(ii) Hàndi Tudu.

(iii) Dandka Tudu: —A kind of fruit, called *Dada jhingà* by the Mayurbhanj Santals, is reported to be taboo to them.

(iv) Lat' Tudu: — *Lat*,' we have already seen, means a "roast inside a leaf-cover." About the origin of their taboo, we heard a story that while a woman was preparing such a dish in between two

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1. Ref. Risley, *People of India*, App. viii., from which these have been quoted.

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• 614 leaves, she was found to have put in a piece of cloth instead of vegetables or meat inside. Hence, at present they are prohibited from cooking such delicacies.

(v) Salpat Hao Ṭuḍu:—The expression means a species of large red ants inside nests of *sal-leaves*. It is said that in legendary times, the ancestors of this sub-clan killed these ants by pressing them between the leaves.

(vi) Rok' Ṭuḍu' (*Rok'*, to pierce, to perforate):—According to customary practices they are required to seek the help of the uncle to bore the ears of the child during such ceremonies. The child, moreover, should be placed on a stack of paddy.

(vii) Kaḍa Ṭuḍu (*Kaḍa*, buffalo).

(viii) Hàṇḍi Ṭuḍu.

(ix) Saṅge Ṭuḍu.

(x) Aṅgaria Ṭuḍu.

614 Sir H. Risley, in his *People of India* relates some
114 interesting stories about the formation of the five
174 additional clans and considering there are variations and supplementary information, we think it worthwhile to acquaint the reader with the tradition as noted by him. According to his version, the tribe "Baske" at first belonged to the Ṭuḍus. But as

1. This is possibly a short form of Rok' lutur Ṭuḍu.

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they offered their break-fast (*baske*) to the gods while at Campa, they were formed into a separate clan. Besras were so named because of the "immoral behaviour of their eponym, who was called 'Besra,' the licentious one." It agrees with our version in tracing the origin of "Pàunria" from the pigeon and "Còṇṛèn" from the lizard, but adds that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunt, the forefathers of these two clans could not kill any other animal excepting pigeons and lizards, making no mention about the story current in Mayurbhanj we have noted before. Regarding Bedeas, Risley's story says that they were left behind when the Santals went out of Campa. "They had no father, so the story goes, at least the mother of their first ancestor could not say who his father was and for this reason they were deemed of lower rank than the other septs." Continuing he states that this clan is believed to have arisen during the time of Mandò Sin in Campa when the Santals had begun to come in touch with the Hindus. According to some Santals, their father was a Rajput while their mother was a Kisku girl. Risley concludes with the conjecture that the well-known gypsy tribe of Bedeas may be the result of a liaison of a Rajput with a Santal girl, but would not stretch the theory too far as "the mere resemblance of names is a slender foundation for such a hypothesis."

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8. *Baske*

614 The Mayurbhanj Santals, as we have already noticed in the first chapter, traced the origin of this clan from the legend that their first ancestor ate *baske* (rice left overnight and fermented). The clan was noticed to contain the sub-clans named below:—

(i) Nij Baske:—Stale rice (*baske*), is still their taboo.

(ii) Biṭol Baske:—"Biṭol (outcaste) Baskes" are outcastes for having taken what the rest of the sub-clans do not; so it was pointed out that they have no particular food prohibition.

(iii) Baṛeliwèt' Baske:—Having totems of curved branches of "Baṛe" (Banyan trees, *Ficus bengalensis*, Roxb).

(iv) Sahar Baske:—(*Sahar*, a large forest tree, *Dillenia pentagyna*, Roxb. The fruit of this tree is eaten).

(v) Maṭha Baske:—(*Maṭha aṛak'*, a small bush, *Antidesma diandrum*, Tulas, the leaves of which are eaten as a pot-herb).

(vi) Seta tiàk' Baske:—Seta means a dog and the expression connotes one who catches hold of a dog by a string and leads it.

(vii) Rok' lutur Baske:—Such a sub-clan was said to be in existence, but no details were available. Some Mayurbhanj Santals expressed the opinion that it was confused with Biṭol Baskes.

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It was stoutly maintained by Nabin Mañjhi, Headman of Chamardahani, Muruda, that all these sub-clans are prohibited from *Kuṭàm ḍaṅgri*, the killing of cows by pounding their heads with an axe. But others, equally versed in the tribal lores, contested this. It may, however, be an extinct institution as cow-killing is not permitted within the state of Mayurbhanj.

9. Besra

This sub-clan, as we have already hinted, has the reputation of having originated owing to the immoral behaviour of their ancestors, being thus cut off from the main stock of Ṭuḍus.

(i) Nij Besra.

(ii) Samanom Besra:—It was narrated that during festivals like *Jòm-sim*, the members of this sub-clan place gold ornaments before the deity (*Samanom*, an obsolete name for gold).

(iii) Kàhu Besra: —(*Kàhu*, a crow). They do not kill crows.

or

Kaḍu Besra: —(*Kaḍu*, a species of pumpkin, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, Seringe). The second name was upheld by a section, but it lacks corroboration. The first alternative is a well-known sub-clan.

One thing that constantly crept up like a refrain was the traditional enmity of the Besras

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• G14 with their parent-stock, the Tuḍus. Clan rules, orthodox and rigid, require that these two clans cannot intermarry. We owe it to Mr. Sunaram Sòrèn of Bamanghati for having supplied us with a version of the story that explains the genesis of the clan-quarrel. He said:—

"The Tuḍus and the Besras are famous for singging and dancing in the Santal community. Once there were two villages side by side, one belonging to the Tuḍus, the other to the Besras. These were separated by a deep stream. While the male members of the Besra clan went out for ploughing fields, their women only were left at home. Now, one young man of the Tuḍu clan crossed the stream by climbing a *Banda nàli* (possibly a parasitical plant over a stream) which was touching both the banks. He brought musical instruments with him and came to the river ghat from where the women folk of the Besras used to draw water. He was so very expert in the art of singing and dancing that the women of the Besras began to dance with him as he played on his lute. Thus they forgot their duties. After a long time they returned to their homes, when they remembered that rice should be taken to the fields. However, by that time, the hour for meal was over. The men came to know why they were so late, by questioning the women. At this, they grew extremely angry with the Tuḍu youngman, and

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cut in the middle of the *banda nàli* (parasitical plant) so cleverly that nobody could detect the severance. 614

Next day, when the young man was hurrying to his amorous sport, he fell down into the stream and sank below. However, there was a "Sayal" fixed for catching fish in the river and he, being entangled in it, could rise on the surface and fortunately did not die. The man might have swum through the river but he could not, as he had too many musical instruments tied all over his body.

Next day, early in the morning when the Besra women did not see their cheerful young man, they were grieved at heart. They began to search for him and came to the very spot where he was half dead. They brought him out of the "sayal", nursed him and the young man soon came to his senses. Now, he made them dance merrily as usual. From that day, a bitter enmity sprang up between these two clans and no marriage ceremony can take place between them. If any such marriage is contracted, it is believed, either the wife or the husband will die soon.

10. *Pànnria*

We have already read Risley's opinion about the origin of this clan from their eponyms having hunted nothing but pigeons. Our enquiries in Mayurbhanj about them did not reveal their existence. Some said that they live a secluded life

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614 as they are looked down upon as an inferior tribe; while others suggested that in reality they are identical with the "Copeyars" there. But it was agreed by everybody that the Santals have such a clan.

11. Còn ṛèn

Like the "Pàunria," the "Conṛèns" are reported as disinclined to disclose their identity, as they are considered to be a lower clan in the tribal estimation. They derive their origin from their ancestor, who is reported to have killed a lizard. Còn*r*èn (a variant, "Chane" is mentioned in the Mayurbhanj census report) cacarhat',' we hear, is a nickname given to this clan and signifies, "rough, dirty, scaly and ugly, as a lizard, or a person suffering from a skin disease" (Dr. Campbell). No details of their sub-clans were available in Mayurbhanj.

12. Gòndwar

We have already commented on this name in the foregoing pages. The weight of reliable evidence went to show that a very small community live a shadow existence in Mayurbhanj and naturally, no information about their sub-clans could be gathered.[1]

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1. *The Mayurbhanj Census Report* also mentions this clan in page 192, Vol. I. (1931).

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Clan Santak (*signs*)

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If the Santals have mysterious pass-words to designate the clans, they have adopted a method of their own to distinguish themselves by symbols, specially fixed for their clans or sub-clans. Having no language of their own, these hieroglyphics help them to sign their names in documents. One, however, wonders how many of them were cheated by the *mahajans*, as they are so easy to be forged, as perhaps the Santal suddenly discovered before the "Hul" (Santal Insurrection of 1855). Whatever that may be, this sign-language is helpful to him to identify his cattle as the various clans brand these on the buttocks of the animals to distinguish them from those belonging to others. The list below contains some such signs as obtained from the Mayurbhanj Santals.

Name of clan or sub-clan	Sign-manual.	Designation.
Rok' Màṛṇḍi.....	//	Jora chhat.
Mirubaha Màṛṇḍi...	+	Dhera.
Hèmbròm.....	+	Dhera.
Gua Hèmbròm.....	//	Jora chhat.
Kaiṭa Tuḍu.....		Plough
Kisku.....	//	Jorachhat.
Sona Murmu.....	+	Dhera.
Cilbindha Hansdak'.	//	Jora chhat.

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Conclusion

614 [27] In concluding the review of the Santal clans and sub-clans as investigated by us in Mayurbhanj, we should note that quite a number of Santal sub-clans have been unearthed by Dr. Campbell, and we have taken the liberty to incorporate his list in the Appendix along with those of Risley, as found in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. An elaborate discussion of these sub-clans may form the work of a lifetime and we trust earnest students will take up this exploration.

Secondly, it may be generally observed that the sub-clans of the parent clan can marry into the other sub-clans, provided they have not the same totem. Thus a Nij-Ṭuḍu can marry a Lat' Ṭuḍu, unless of course there are other local bars, of which sometimes there is no end. It goes without saying that marriage outside the clan proper is, the most welcome, but regard must be had to some traditional enmities as between the Besras and the Ṭuḍus, Kiskus vs. Mārṇḍis, and Santalia is replete with tales and legends of lads and lasses of such Capulets and Montagues creating a zig-saw puzzle for their parents and the clans in general.

614 688 627 Thirdly, offences against the food-taboos of the clans and sub-clans are tried by the members constituting it. Thus if a Nij-Hansdak' eats a Raj-hans, their totem, there is bound to be a gathering of all

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Nij-Hansdak's along with a Ṭikà Murmu, (the Santal equivalent for a Brahmin for such purposes), for ceremonial expiation of the erring soul. It is on payment of Rs. 1-4as., a cup of bell-metal and a napkin (to be received by the Ṭikà Murmu) that he can be restored to his clan. 614 688 627

Fourthly, we should note that Santals, although divided into so many clans and sub-clans, do not observe any caste-system as the Hindus. Although the *Murmus* are called *Thàkurs* and are generally selected as priests of the tribe (in preference to others), they dine with any one within the tribal fold and marry anywhere within the permitted grades. But it is not the custom of the Santal to take rice or water from the *Dekos* (non-Santals). Although in course of time, some clans claim some superiority over others, no rigours of castes are noticeable. But as we have observed before, the same does not hold good with regard to non-Santals. Santal boys and girls, after their marriage, are prohibited by strict regulation from dining with the Dekos excepting the Kurmbis, Hos and Bhumij. Thus they maintain, by means of a rigorous taboo, their purity from defilement. 614 564 [793] [784]

In conclusion, we should note that we questioned the Santals of the Santal Paraganas regarding marriage within the clan (viz. including all the various sub-clans). The educated Santals said that 614

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614 the Santals can never marry into any family that bears the name of the clan. But the common-folk opined that marriages may take place if the sub-clans are different, the parent clan remaining the same. But it was apparent that Santals do not like unions within the clan, although the sub-clans of the contracting parties may be altogether different. One thing was clear. The orthodox [178] custom of limiting marriage outside the clan is no longer in strict existence, and marriage between the members of different sub-clans of one parent-clan, is being tolerated.

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CHAPTER V

KINSHIP ORGANISATION

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We have seen in the preceding pages that the Santals are divided into exogamous groups for matrimonial purposes. For a better comprehension of the inner organisation of the tribe, it is necessary for us to study in detail, the marriage restrictions amongst the clans, the kinship nomenclature, and the rights and duties of different classes of relatives.

Jàtià Peŗa and Bòndhu Peŗa

The inner working of the exogamous groups amongst the Santals can be further elucidated by the fact that they are always divided into two groups for the purposes of marriage. These groups are called *Jàtià Peŗa and Bòndhu Peŗa*.[1] The dormitory system, so much a characteristic of some of the Muṇdà tribes, is not in existence so far as the Santals are concerned. Let us take the case of the Murmu clan. The members of their clan are called *Jàtià Peŗa* (friends of the same blood) and the rest of the Santals are *Bòndhu Peŗa* (the clan with whom they may enter into matrimonial relations).

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1. Cf. Kutumb and Bandhu villages of the Pauri Bhuiyas. "The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa." P. 134. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.

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614 Thus theoretically speaking at least, each of its group is exogamous as far as its own group is concerned, but endogamous in relation to the other groups, who are *Bòndhus*, subject to a variety of other restrictions, as we shall soon see in detail. [174] Broadly speaking, this arrangement points to the existence of a dual division among the Santals in the past for matrimonial purposes.

It may be noted here that the various Santal clans have their own *gadi* (original seats). If it so chances that a Santal finds his own *gadi*, the same with that of others, his attraction is stronger towards his clan-group than to his other relatives, however near they may be. Thus there is a solid tie among the [783] [764] *Jàtià Peras* (friends of the same blood) belonging to the same clan, all of whose members undergo ceremonial pollution on the death of one of the [571] clan. Thus clan-ties amongst Santals transcend even degrees of relationship.

[428] [691] [611] The son inherits the clan-name of his father and lives with his father as of right. The father is the natural guardian of the children, and the way in which descent is reckoned is patrilineal. The [562] Santal wife has no legal status in the eye of tribal jurisprudence; she is simply bought and belongs to the husband's family as a chattel. And the type [594] of family that centres round the father as the head, may be characterised as patripotestal.

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But we should add that although in theory, Santals can marry anyone belonging to their *Bòndhu Peras*, various restrictions now hedge them round. Added to these, certain consanguinous relationships (presumably under the influence of the Hindus) have added several prohibited degrees of marriage. Thus we see that they have no cross-cousin-marriage, that is, the children of a brother and sister cannot marry. The children of two sisters, although belonging to different clans cannot enter into matrimony as *Balaea* (relationship subsisting between the parents of a married couple) relationship is prohibited between brothers and sisters according to custom. The marriage of a Santal with the widow of a maternal uncle, although a *Bòndhu* woman, is unthinkable, and the Santals of Barsai, Mayurbhanj, went so far as to place the *mami* (the wife of a maternal uncle) in the category of a mother. It will thus be clear from the foregoing that while the matrimonial rules are based primarily on the basis of exogamous clans, degrees of relationship have at least their secondary importance.

Relationship Terms

We give below a list of Santal kinship terms as obtained from Mayurbhanj. The system is mainly of the type named by Morgan as 'Classificatory,' which generally recognises relationships between

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593 Jiwi boge bàṛic' gatiñge natañ
539 ,, ,, ,, ,, tingun,
Niñañ jiwi dòre gateñ tire.

Translation:

Father and mother are like Gods,
(But) Who will claim equality with the husband?
All the joys and sorrows of life,
Are readily accepted by the husband,
,, ,, ,, by the husband standing (firm).
My life fully depends on my husband.

Prohibited degrees of marriage

582 In our discussion on the principles of marriage-grades we had occasion to refer to the fact that although theoretically speaking, the Santals have exogamous clans for purposes of marriage, they have developed several prohibited degrees which regulate the marriage tie.

[614] The general rule that the Santal can marry into any clan except his own, is qualified by several restrictions which we will narrate here. Thus they can marry into the clan of their mothers, but three generations are prohibited now.

For purposes of marriage regulations, a Santal's relations and those on his wife's side may be classed under three separate groups:—

(1) Agnates.

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(2) A woman and her husband's elder brothers, or husband's father and uncles; and a man and his wife's elder sisters or elder cousin-sisters, and wife's mother and aunt.

(3) Non-agnates excluding cross-cousins and (2) above.

Roughly speaking, a Santal may marry into group (3) but not into groups (1) and (2).

Added to these there are the restrictions based on traditional enmity as between the clans *Tuḍus* and *Besras* and *Kiskus* and *Màrṇḍis* and *vice versa*, marriages between whom are prohibited according to custom.

Relationship taboos

Added to the food and sex-taboos, the Santals have some tabooed relations between whom not only marriage or sexual union must be avoided, but even their close contact is considered as a sin. Thus a husband's elder brother is a taboo to a Santal woman; she cannot even touch him. Wife's elder sister falls within the list; and we learn that during the general sprinkling of water after the *Baha* (flower festival), one cannot throw water on such relations. And Bengali Hindus may learn with some amusement that their joking relations, as between a bride's father and the bridegroom's mother, is transformed

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614 684 Ever since the formation of the clans, while the early Santal fathers were migrating from Hihiṛi Pipiṛi to Harata and Sasaṅ beda, inter-marriage amongst the members of the clans was prohibited according to Santal traditions as we read in the *Hòṛkoṛèn Mare Haṛamko Reak' Katha*. It meant that a Kisku boy could not marry a Kisku girl of the same totem and *vice versa*, nor could he marry within the prohibited degrees specially fixed by custom. If he did, the tribal customary laws required that he and she should be excommunicated. And this has still continued to be as rigid and inexorable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Added to this, the marriage-laws required that Santal girls should never be given in marriage to non-Santals called *Deko* by the tribe, nor would they tolerate extra-marital unions.

684 622 692 According to Santal tribal laws, whenever a person is detected to have entered into a union falling into the categories described above, the Headman of the village is bound to inform the Headmen of the neighbouring villages to meet in a conference. At this meeting, evidence regarding the guilt of the parties is adduced; and if the case is *prima facie* proved, the Headmen circularise their respective villages to boycott the offenders by refusing to dine with them or by having any other social intercourse with them, till the case is finally

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764 787 illustrate the point well. Thus the man who sets fire to the deceased, asks *Marañ Buru* in trance. The village elders, "*Mònṛèn hòṛ*," also join in the question. "Are you well ?" *Marañ Buru* answers, "I am all right." Then they again ask the dead man, "You were not much aged. Why did you die so early ? Did any *dan* (witch) eat you up ? Did you die through natural causes ?" The dead man answers (through *Marañ Buru*), "This was the span of my life, so I died." Next they ask again, "Have you hoarded wealth anywhere under the earth ?" The dead man answers (through *Marañ Buru*), "Yes" (or no). If the answer be in the affirmative, directions are given by the man in trance as to where the money lies buried. The men assembled, thereupon, will dig up the earth to find the hoarded wealth. Lastly, it may be that the dead man (through *Marañ Buru*) may ask those present to bring his children. They are then brought and kissed by him. He may also request those present to look after the children well.

765 783 *Telnaban or chotokaman (Preliminary purification)*

The Santal observes ceremonial pollution for a period till he is in a position to procure the requisites of purification. This affects the particular clan (614) to which the deceased belonged. Thus we gathered at Mayurbhanj that when a Nij Hansdak' dies, all

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persons belonging to the same totem are affected, and they desist from eating fish, meat and oil, nor do they borrow fire from another man's house for nine days, till the *asidha* (ceremonial pollution) continues.

On the expiry of the period, the Headman arrives at the house in mourning with the village elders and the other invited relatives. A Santal barber then shaves the members of the family, whereupon, they bathe after rubbing their bodies with oil and oil-cake. Now, a ceremony follows when three tooth-sticks, four fingers in length, oil, oil-cake, *narkan hasa* (a kind of earth to wash the hair) are arranged on three *Sal*-leaves and offered to *Maraṅ Buru* (the chief presiding deity), the deceased and the dead ancestors, with prayers so that *Maraṅ Buru* may admit the released spirit after purifying it with all these materials.

Now, all men have a ceremonial bath closely followed by the women. A *Tika Murmu* now addresses the gathering, "They were so long under *ashida*. Now they are purified. We can now take them back." Now all shout *hòribol* as a sign of approval. Two men now again fall into a trance (*jhupar*) and impersonate *Maraṅ Buru* and the dead man. They are liberally plied with a supply of rice-beer, along with the "Mòṇṛèn hòṛ" (village elders). At night, fowls are offered by the tribe

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most mysterious of all episodes in human life. He associates a death in the tribe as an event which necessitates segregation of the family and the clan visited by the calamity, and not until they undergo ceremonial purification, are they thought entitled to the fuller life of the tribe, and this re-union is effected by a final community meal.

In all these socio-religious rites, the whole Santal society of the locality acts like one man. Here is a supernatural danger visiting a family. Unless the full co-operation of the tribe is received, it may be an occasion for the unconscious contamination to injure the tribe itself by its mysterious infection. So the man affected by a death in the family looks up to the tribe for help and sympathy, and the tribe in its turn helps its members during the crisis, by propitiating the super-human powers beyond our ken, who alone know the key to the mysterious phenomena round about humanity.

It is very easy to notice here also, the undoubted influence of Hinduism in the funeral customs of the Santals. But, whereas the Hindus have universalised the individual with the eternal essence, and have woven a theory of universal humanity by offering *Pindas* even to the unknown dead, their formula being "*Jagaddhitaya Krishnaya*," (to Sri Krishna, the Lord of the Universe, for the good of the Universe), the Santal, although not dreaming

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Jòm Sim.

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This is a festival in which offerings of sheep or goats are made to the Sun-god, *Siñ Boñga*. No definite time is fixed for the celebration of this sacrifice ; it may do if one performs it once in one's life-time, everything depending on the length of one's purse. Those who can afford it, generally perform the worship after every fifth year. It is not a public worship like the Flower-festival or the Harvest Home, as the village deities supposed to reside in the Holy Grove are not worshipped, nor do the Santals as a tribe join it. It is a worship restricted to a particular clan in groups. So when the *Màrṇḍis* perform *Jòm Sim puja*, it is they and they alone who take part in it and invitations issued to other clans can only include the daughters of *Màrṇḍis*, married in other clans and their children. The funds, of course, are subscribed by the members of the clan.

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Jadabendra Mañjhi (a *Màrṇḍi*), an educated Santal of Mayurbhanj, working in the Secretariat there, thus gave us a description of the festival, soon after it was celebrated by his clan. He said that the *Màrṇḍis* according to custom perform this festival before the full-moon of *Falgun* (Feb.-March) or *Baisakh* (April-May) and not at any other time, a date being fixed by the clan in a meeting, and a goat castrated as a preparation for the festival.

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On the first day called *Um Narka* (purification), the members of the clan clean their houses, wash clothes and eat nothing except rice and *biri* (a pulse). Thereafter, some other goats are also castrated and the place of sacrifice is made clean and a pot of holy water placed there.

On this day the clan offers *pujas* to two gods whose names our informant did not disclose as a clan secret, but added that *Brahma* and *Ganesh* of the Hindus are the nearest equivalent to the deities, who are impersonated by two Santals after falling in a trance. They are solemnly asked their names and on their answer, they are shown a goat and a ram to be offered to them the next day, for their approval. As they express their satisfaction, they are prayed to resume their normal selves.

Before sun-rise on the second day called *Sàrdi*, the clan assembles at the place of sacrifice and offers the goat to the Santal equivalent of *Ganesh* and the ram to *Brahma*. Two ancestors are also invoked with offerings of fowl, the spotted ones being meant for the ancestors on the mother's side, while the red ones for those on the father's side. *Maraṅ Buru* (the chief presiding deity) gets a white fowl. The peculiarity of the sacrifice is that the ram, goat and the white fowl are sacrificed by being killed by one stroke as is done by the Hindus, whereas, the spotted and red fowls are slowly cut. Prayers are

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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796 614 [782] [252] then offered to the gods to protect the clan from earthly maladies, bowel-complaints being specially named as a dreaded disease. The meat, thereafter, is cooked with salt and water. The *Màrṇḍis* must eat the heads of the animals sacrificed and the rest goes to the share of the invited.

The *Baskes*, when questioned, said that they need not like *Màrṇḍis* start the festival before sunrise; any time before noon suits their clan calendar. [782] [252] Their sacrificial meat is cooked with turmeric, spices and salt, and their gods are similiar to those of the *Màrṇḍis*.

796 *Pata* (Santal *Còròk* in mid-April).

[177] We have seen from the foregoing that the Santals, in addition to their orthodox festivals, associate themselves with the various Hindu ceremonials like the *Durga Puja*, *Kali Puja* and others. [174] From the evidence at our disposal, one cannot be sure as to when they began their association, but as one looks to the *Pata*, the Santal version of Hindu *Còròk*, (Hook-swinging festival) it seems to be pretty old. In the chapter on *Bitlàhà* or Santal social ostracism, we noticed that the final trial of the offenders takes place on *Pata cando*, meaning the month of *Còròk*, and the orthodox meaning of the word *Pata* is stated to be "a festival in honour of *Mahadeo*."

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No information is sent by a knot of strings (*gira gath*), it is conveyed orally. *Por Sendra* is purely a relaxation at pleasure during the mouth of *Chaitra* or *Baisakh*.

APPENDIX III

Pàris.

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(A Note on Santal clans and sub-clans by Dr. Campbell.)

"The Santals are divided into eleven septs, but originally, it is said, there were twelve, one of which has been lost. Each sept is subdivided into sub-septs of which according to the popular belief among Santals there are twelve. In fact, however, the sub-septs of each sept vary in number, as the following list will show.

Sept Kisku:—

Sub-septs:—Nij Kisku, Gaṛ . ., Ok' . ., Obòr . ., Màñjhi khil . . , Naeke khil . . , Son . . , Aḍ . . , Badaṛ . . , Biṭol . . , Sada . . , Paṭi . . , Jabe . . , Tika. . and Katwa...

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
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Sept Hansdak':—

Sub-septs:—Nij Hansdak', Cil bindha..., Bodoar or bonḍwar..., Kedwar..., Jihu..., Kuhi..., Sada..., Obòr..., Kanran Gujia..., Kàhu..., Sank..., Nacke khil..., Ròk' lutur..., Bedwar..., and Kundà...

Sept Murmu:

Sub-septs:—Nij Murmu, Sada..., Obòr..., Màñjhi khil..., Nacke khil..., Biṭol..., Gaṛ..., Badaṛ..., Ok'..., Lat'..., Jihu..., Ṭikà or Tilok..., Kuḍàm..., Gajaṛ..., Copiar..., Poṇḍ..., Boara..., Hàṇḍi..., Koṭha..., Ṭuṭi Sarjòm..., Samak' saṅ..., Oara..., Muṇḍu..., Jugi..., Kaḍa..., Turku Lumam..., Sàu... and Powar ...

Sept Hèmbròm: —

Sub-septs:—Nij Hèmbròm, Màñjhi khil . .., Nacke khil . . , Sada . . , Biṭol . . . , Guà . . , Guà Sòrèn . . , Obòr . . , Badaṛ . . , Gaṛ . . , Laher . . , Casa . . , Hàṇḍi . . , Sole . . , Ṭhàkur . . . , Lat.' . . , Datela . . , and Kuànri . . .

Sept Màrnḍi:—

Sub-septs: —Nij Màrnḍi. Goda . . , Màñjhi khil . . , Nacke khil . . . Rot . . , Rok' lutur . . , Obòr . . , Biṭol . . , Sidup' . . , Jugi . . , Kaḍa . . , Khara . . , Gaṛ . . , Kulkhi . . , Turko lumam . . , Sada . . , Khaṇḍa jagao . . , Ṭikà . . , Poṇḍ . . , Kedwar . . , Buru beret' . . , Khaṇḍa . . , Babren . . , Rupà . . , Jònòk' . . , Miru . . , and Bhoso...

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• 614 *Sept Sòrèn*:—

Sub-septs:—Nij Sòrèn, Sidup' . . , Sada . . , Jugi . . , Màñjhi khil . . , Nacke khil . . . Bițol . . , Ok' . . , Muṇḍu or Badaț . . , Mal . . , Jihu . . , Sank . . , Bàrchi . . . Sada sidup' . . . Paṇḍ . . , Khaṇḍan . . , Obòr . . , Manț . . , Cehel . . , Dantela . . , Rok' lutur . . , Guà . . and Turku lumam...

Sept Tuḍu: —

Sub-septs:—Nij Tuḍu, Cigi . . , Lat' . . , Màñjhi khil . . , Nacke khil . . , Sada . . . Gaț . . , Jugi . . , Dantela . . , Ok' . . , Bițol . . , Obòr . . , Baske . . , Tilok . . , Babțen . . , Curue' . . , Kuḍàm . . , Bhokta . . , and Kharhara...

Sept Baske: —

Sub-septs:—Nij Baske, Màñjhi khil . . , Nacke khil . . , Bițol . . , Kuhi . . , Ok' . . , Muṇḍu . . . Obòr . . , Bindaț . . , Sada , . , Keḍwar . . , Jihu . . , Sàru Gaḍa . . , Bhiḍi . . , Suțe . . , and Hèndè ...

Sept Besra:—

Sub-septs:—Nij Besra, Màñjhi khil . . . Nacke khil . . , Kuhi . . , Sòn . . , Bindàț . . , Gaț . . , Tilok . . , Bițol . . , Lat' . . , Baske . . , Ok' . . , Obòr . . , and Kàhu...

Sept Còntèn or Gua Sòren:—

Sub-septs:—Nij Còntèn, Guà . . . Hèmbròm kunàr . .. Gua Hèmbròm . .. Sada . .. Bițol . ..

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Màñjhi khil . ., Ok . ., Gaṛ . ., Naeke khil . ., Sindur . ., Bindàṛ . ., Kàhu . ., Lat' . . and Ṭhàkur ...

Sept Pauria or Paulia:—

Sub-septs:—Nij Pàurià, Màñjhi khil . ., Naeke khil . . , Sada . . , Ok' . . . Càuria . . , Bhitàr . . . Obòr . . , Sidup' . ., Biṭol . ., Gaṛ . ., Muṇḍu . ., and Lat' . . .

Note.—

The writer has come in contact with families of most of the Sub-septs above-named. The names of most of the other Sub-septs have been gathered from well informed Santals.

Santali—English and English—Santali Dictionary by A. Campbell, second edition, 1933, page 494-95.

APPENDIX IV.

From Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Volume II, page 125.

Santal, Saontar, Kharwar or Safa-Hor.

Titles:—Buna, Mandal, Manjhi, Pradhan, Sardar.

Sub-tribes:—Deswali Santal, Kharwar or Safa-Hor.

Septs	Sub-septs.
Baski	Nij Sada.
Bediya (Sheep?) . . .	Nil.

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Septs	Sub-septs.
Besra, hawk	Bundra Kahu, crow kara, buffalo Nij Sada, Sibala, Son, Sung.
Chonre	Nil.
Hansda	Barwar, Chilbindha (eagle-slayer), Jihu (a bird), Kerwar, Manjhi khil, Nacke khil, Nij, Roh-lutur, (ear-pierced), Sada.
Hembrom, Hembrom	
Betel-palm	Dantela (so called from their breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrificial purposes). Gua (Oreca nut), Jahur, Kamar, Laher, Nacke khil, Nij, Roh-lutur (ear-pierced).
Kisku	Abar, Alr, Kachua (tortoise), Lat (baxe meat in a leaf-platter), Nag (cobra) Nij, Roh luture, Sada, Somal (deer).
Marndi	Buru brit, of the hills, Kekra (crab), Laher, Manjhi khil, Nij, Rhot (panjaun tree), Sada.
Murmu	Bital, Boar (fish) Chopeyar, Ganro (fort) Handi (earthen vessel), Muro, Nij, Sada, Sangda, Tikiya (chain) Tikka.
Pauria or Paulia	Nil.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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596 and grandchildren, which is equivalent to the Hindu "Joint family". The Maori calls it "Whanau" (meaning extended family or family group) which corresponds to the German "Gross familie".

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[614] The family is broken up by marriage when the daughters by the law of exogamy go to another clan. Up to the time of their marriage the daughters are the property of their fathers or the nearest male relatives (if the father is dead), who take charge of them ; when married, they come under control of the family of their husbands (with these as their immediate lords and masters) and this they continue to be so long as there is any one who has a right over them. If such a state [736] ceases, they have no longer any locus standi ; they revert to their original relatives, if they are alive or become sort of guardianless minors, if none such exist they become utterly destitute except for what people may give them or what they may be able to earn through their work. It can be seen that the sons sometimese stablish their own home, when they have got their own family. But ordinarily the sons with their wives live with their father and mother.

591 **Ghardi-Jawae :** There is a third type, in which
583 the son-in-law is taken as a son in the father-in-law's
606 family. If in a Santal family there is no son but only a daughter, they marry their daughter off and give the son-in-law the position of a son, provided he lives with his father-in-law. If in a family there are grown-up daughters and minor sons, the son-in-law works for his father-in-law without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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593 609 (younger brother's wife) cannot touch the shadow of her husband's elder brother.

614. **Sept and Sub-sept Organisation:** The internal structure of the Santal tribe is singularly complex and elaborate. There are several exogamous divisions called Parishes (septs). Ten names were obtained by me at Dumka, Dumka Damin, Godda, Godda Damin, Jasidhi, and Hazaribagh districts. In Deoghar I got eleven Parishes:

	Sept	Meaning	Sept	Meaning
1.	Hansdha	Wild goose	6. Soren	The constellation Pleiades.
2.	Murmu	Nilgai	7. Tudu	Nil
3.	Kisku	Nil	8. Baske	Nil
4.	Hemrom	Betel Palm	9. Besra	Hawk
5.	Marandi	Sabai grass	10. Chonrey	Lizard

In Deoghar in addition to the above I recorded another sept namely 'Pauria' the meaning of which is Pigeon.

114 614 Edward Garnet Man described in his 'Santhal and Santhalia' the following twelve Parishes of the Santal:

	Sept	Sept
1.	Hanshdha	7. Besera
2.	Murmu	8. Kedoar
3.	Soren	9. Baske
4.	Tudu	10. Marmoring
5.	Marli	11. Bisra
6.	Kisku	12. Hemron

Marli, Besera, Kedoar, and Marmoring—these four Parishes I could not find any where in the Santal Parganas.

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Dalton in the Ethnology of Bengal divided the Santals into the following tribes : 114 614.

Sept		Sept	
1.	Saran	7.	Tudi
2.	Murmu	8.	Baski
3.	Marli	9.	Hemrow
4.	Kisku	10.	Kurwar
5.	Besera	11.	Chorai
6.	Hansda		

The Karwar, which Mr. Dalton recorded as a tribe, is not a tribe but a sub-sept of the Hansdha sept. He has written the English equivalent of the Santali word Parish as tribe, which I think is not correct. In the truest sense of the term it will be a sept.

Sir Herbert Risley has noted the following twelve septs of the Santals : 614

Sept		Sept	
1.	Hansdak	7.	Baske
2.	Murmu	8.	Besra
3	Kisku	9.	Pauria
4.	Hemrom	10.	Chore
5.	Saren	11	Marandi
6.	Tudu	12.	Bedea.

Among the twelve septs, I found Besra, Murmu, Kisku, Tudu, Hansda, Soren, Marandi, Heinrom and Baski in large numbers in the Damin area of the Santal Parganas. The septs, Chonrey and Besra are regarded by the Santal as inferior amongst the twelve septs ; that is why the people who actually belong to one of the above two septs, give themselves the names of the other septs

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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• 614 when asked, suppressing their own. The sept Bedea is not found in this area.

The aforementioned septs (Parishes) are again sub-divided into sub-septs (Khunts). The Santal inherits the sub-septs in the father's line. The sub-septs (Khunts) are as follows—

Septs (Parishes)	Sub-septs (Khunts)	Meaning
I. Baski.	1. Nij.	Oneself.
	2. Sada.	Apply no vermilion at the time of puja.
	3. Naikekhil.	
	4. Sure.	Cooked along with rice.
	5. Kerwar.	
	6. Loat.	
	7. Mundu.	Means a jungle.
II. Besra.	1. Bundra.	
	2. Kahu.	Crow.
	3. Kara guza.	There were two blind brothers, from their names this sub-clan begins.
	4. Nij.	
	5. Sibla.	A cultivated-fibre yielding plant (Crotalaria juncea D. C.)
	6. Son.	
	7. Sung.	
	8. Sada.	
	9. Naike khil.	
	10. Loat.	Creeper.
	11. Kahu.	

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III. Hasdak.	1.	Barwar.	
	2.	Kedwar.	
	3.	Chilbhindha.	Eagle-slayer.
	4.	Jihu.	Babbler, a kind of bird.
	5.	Nij.	
	6.	Sada.	
	7.	Rok-Lutur.	Ear-pierced.
	8.	Kara-guja.	
	9.	Naika-khil.	
	10.	Kahu.	
	11.	Sak.	
IV. Hembrom.	1.	Gua.	Areca nut
	2.	Tahur.	
	3.	Kumar.	
	4.	Laher.	
	5.	Dantela.	So called from their breeding of pigs with very large tusks for sacrificial purpose.
	6.	Nij.	
	7.	Uh.	
	8.	Roh-Lutur.	
	9.	Naike-khil.	
	10.	Sada.	
	11.	Manjhikhil.	
V. Kisku.	1.	Abar.	
	2.	Ah.	
	3.	Kachua.	Tortoise.
	4.	Lat.	Baked meat in a leaf-plate.
	5.	Nag.	Cobra.
	6.	Nij.	
	7.	Sada.	
	8.	Roh-Lutur.	
	9.	Somal.	Deer.
	10.	Naike khil.	
	11.	Son.	
	12.	Buru-beret.	

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VI. Marndi	1.	Buru-beret.	Of the hills.
	2.	Kekra.	Crab.
	3.	Manjhikhil.	Worship on the Manjhisthan.
	4.	Naike khil.	
	5.	Nij.	
	6.	Roeth.	Panjaun tree.
	7.	Sada.	
	8.	Rok-Lutur.	
	9.	Keawar.	
	10.	Sidup.	
	11.	Khanda.	Weapon or a Sari.
	12.	Khanda Jogeo.	
	13.	Rupa.	Silver.
VII. Murmu.	1.	Bitol.	Outcasted.
	2.	Boor.	Fish.
	3.	Coopier.	Small in the hind quarters as a bullock.
	4.	Handi.	Earthen pot.
	5.	Nij.	
	6.	Sada.	
	7.	Samark Sari.	
	8.	Sikiya.	Chain.
	9.	Tikka.	To put a mark on the forehead.
	10.	Naike khil.	
	11.	Manjhikhil.	
	12.	Laher.	To cut.
VIII. Soren.	1.	Sada.	
	2.	Nij.	
	3.	Jugi.	Give to the puja the things which they bring by begging.
	4.	Barchir.	Spearman.

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VIII. Soren. (*Continued*)	5.	Manjhikhil.	
	6.	Naike khil.	
	7.	Sidup.	Bundle of straw.
	8.	Sak.	Conch-shell.
	9.	Khanda.	Those who worship buffalo.
	10.	Poita.	
	11.	Tika.	
	12.	Mal Soren.	
	13.	Rok-Lutur.	
IX. Tudu.	1.	Agaria.	Charcoal burner.
	2.	Chigi.	
	3.	Dantela.	
	4.	Lat.	
	5.	Manjhikhil.	
	6.	Naike Khil.	
	7.	Nij.	
	8.	Sada.	
	9.	Roh-Lutur.	
	10.	Sung.	
X. Paurid (no sub-divisions found).	1.	Mundu.	
	2.	Kahur.	
	3.	Sidup.	
	4.	Naike Khil.	
	5.	Nij.	
	6.	Sada.	
	7.	Manjhikhil.	
XI. Chonfey-Core (no sub-divisions found).	1.	Naike Khil.	
	2.	Kahu.	
	3.	Nij.	
	4.	Lat.	
	5.	Manjhikhil.	
	6.	Sada.	
	7.	Gua.	

XII. Bedia (extinct).

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614 **Traditions of the Septs**

In Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak Katha of Rev. P.O. Bodding, which is written in Santali language, he has recorded the tradition of the Santal people. In it there is a story that the septs, Hansdak, Murmu, Kisku, Hemron, Marandi, Soren, Tudu, are believed to be descended from the seven sons of the first ancestors, Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi. The five others have been added afterwards as an inferior moiety. As regards the origin of the five additional septs the following stories are told :

[616] 614 539

The sept Baske at first belonged to the above seven, but by reason of their offering their breakfast to the gods while the Santals were still in Champa, they were formed into a separate sept under the name of Baske. The Besra were separated on account of the immoral behaviour of their eponym, who was called Besra the licentious one. The sept Pauria is called after the pigeon and the sept Chonrey after the lizard ; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards, so they were called after the names of these animals. The sept Bedea was left behind and lost when the Santals went out of Champa and is now extinct. They had no father, so the story goes ; the mother of their first ancestor could not say who his father was and for this reason they were deemed to be of inferior rank to the other septs. This sept is believed to have arisen during the time of Mando Singh in Champa when the Santals had begun to come in contact with the Hindus. Some Santals say that the father was a Rajput and the mother a girl

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of the Kisku sept. Santals are very particular about the honour of their women so far at least as outsiders are concerned and it is quite in keeping with their ideas that a sept formed by liaison with a Diku (non-Santal) should have been looked down upon and eventually banished from the community. 614 539

The names of the sub-septs have been collected from my Santal informant Ram Marandi (Parganait of Sundar Pahari of Godda sub-division). It agrees substantially in detail when I checked up the data from Campbell's Dictionary published in 1899. The sincerity of my informant is to be judged from his not being able to mention any sub-sept Chonrey and Pauria which do not occur in that area. The general impression which I gathered from other Santal dignitaries is that the sub-septs did not generally exist. The sub-septs appear at least in this case not to be exagamous units at all; they rather mark family distinction and traditions, for instance those who would not paint vermilion would be called Sada (white) or those who may have been descended from a headman or a priest would be called Majhikhil or Naikekhil. The sub-septs thus marked an important tendency of the Santal exogamous group either to be divided into sub-groups or sometimes to add a sub-group to itself. This alone explains the disparity in number of the sub-septs in the various septs. There is of course a tendency of the sub-septs to approximate to the number twelve according to the pattern of the total number of the septs. But this is by no means the case. Apparently the one important function of the sub-sept is to distinguish between Nij and Sada which occurs in all the septs. This pertains 614 [115] [114] [302] [184] [302]

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614 302 184 to the use of vermilion and may be due to the important custom of smearing with vermilion on the occasion of marriage and other auspicious ceremonies which once divided the Santals into two groups based on the use and non-use of vermilion. That this was the uppermost idea in the Santal's mind was forcibly impressed on me while taking their measurements and enquiring of their sub-septs; the majority came out with either Sada (white) or Nij (proper). Thus the sub-sept division not being exogamic is not so much a vital part of their social organization; rather it was a division [174] due to culturtal difference. The possibilities are that once either the vermilion was a borrowed culture trait from outside or its use was given up by a section due to some internal reform movement or influence of some superior non-vermilion-using culture. It is more probable that the use of vermilion was more innate to them becuse the users are called the Nij or proper. [585] Vermilion, it may be noted, is used by them only on [171] the occasion of marriage. Among the Bengal Hindus vermilion is not only used in marriage but has to be always worn on the parted hair of the married women, lack of vermilion signifying widowhood. On the other hand in other parts of Hindu India more stress is laid on the use of flowers by the married women. Vermilion is not known in the primitive area of Assam. Thus it is probably a vital part of the culture of Chota Nagpur tribes.

Notes on Sub-septs

614 782 184 THA-OK SUB-SEPT

Whenever any ceremony (religious) occurs the members of this sub-sept sacrifice a goat or a pig in

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their houses, and they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape.

MAL SUB-SEPT.

They may not utter the word Mal when engaged in any religious ceremony or when sitting on a panchayat to determine any tribal question.

JIHU SUB-SEPT

They may not kill or eat the Jihu or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of garland known as Jihu Mala from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The Jihu is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest.

SANKH SUB-SEPT

They may not wear shell necklace or ornaments and are forbidden to eat, carry, cut, or use shell.

JUGI SUB-SEPT

They smear their foreheads with vermilion at the harvest festival and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice thus collected they make cakes which they offer to the gods.

MANJHIKHIL SUB-SEPT

The members of this sub-sept are descended from the Manjhi (headman of a village) . e., their ancestor was a Manjhi.

NAIKEKHIL SUB-SEPT.

The members of this sub-sept claim descent from a village priest.

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Totemism of the Santals

614 The Santals as mentioned above are divided into a number of septs and sub-septs mostly named after some animals, plants, fruits or other material objects. It is now worth enquiring how far the septs and sub-septs have totemic relations with such things. Totemism, in the truest form is not present amongst the Santals. The Santals of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, and the few legends of the Santals about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem animal and plant had some accidental connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. As for example the sept Pauria is called after the pigeon and Chonrey after the lizard; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards, so they were called by the names of these animals.

As with other totemic people a Santal also abstains from eating, killing, hunting or destroying the animal, plant or other objects that form his clan totem. Eating, killing, hunting, and destroying one's clan totem is regarded by the Santal as equivalent to killing a human member of his own clan. The idea of brotherly feeling between the members of the same clan is present among them. The marriage between persons of the same clan is considered incestuous which may be taken as a confirmatory test of the above idea.

[582]

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Descent of the Santal is always reckoned in the male line and a man has the same totem as his father; the totem of the mother's father's line is not respected. As a female has no clan of her own, she is not a recognised member of her father's or of husband's clan and has not therefore to observe the taboos relating to their totems. But actually the Santal women do not kill any totem animal or any totem plant, just as their husbands do not kill or destory any totem animal, plant and other object.

Individual or sex totem is unknown to the Santals. Their totem is hereditary and not acquired. The members of a clan do not wear any distinguishing emblem or peculiar dress nor have they representations of their totem cut or tattooed on their persons or carved or painted on their houses or any personal belongings.

MARRIAGE

The Santali name for marriage is 'Bapla'. Mr. O'Malley is of the opinion that bapla is a word which very probably meant originally mutual strengthening i.e. of the two families.[1]

It is strictly forbidden for any Santal to marry within his own sept (Parish). He may marry into any other sept or sub-sept to which his mother belonged. Among the Santals there is a custom that a Santal can marry a girl who is three kursis (generations) apart. There are some septs which never intermarry with one another in consequence of some ancient feud between them. A Hansdak male or a female

[1]L.SS. O'Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers. Santal Parganas, Calcutta 1910 Vol. XXII Page 134.

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582 614 never marries a Murmu female or a Murmu male respectively. Similarly a Tudu male never marries a Besra female and vice verse. An old Santal of Tudu sept told me the following tradition explaining why inter-marriage is not allowed between the Tudu and Besra septs.

582 614 539 Once a woman of Besra sept fell in love with a Tudu man, but the man did not agree to marry as the Besra sept is lower. Then the relatives of the man and woman made an agreement that if between the fight of their sept-animals, buffalo and cock, the cock would lose its life then there would be marriage. On the fixed day before the relatives of the both sides this fight took place. The headman of the village holding the pointed horn of the buffalo in one hand and the cock in another asked the permission of the men on both sides, and when they gave an answer in the affirmative, he let them loose and a fight then ensued between the cock and the buffalo. In the fight the cock took out the two eye-balls of the buffalo with its pointed beak, in consequence of which the buffalo lost its life. Thence no marriage was allowed between the two septs. But now no such restriction can be found.

582 584 836 684 [848] Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated ; but if a girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation he would be liable to severe punishment by the Jogmanjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine.

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Kudam Bapla: If a girl becomes pregnant, the young man by whom she becomes so is bound to marry her. The procedure for this kind of marriage is as follows :— 584 848 [836]

The young man informs the Jogmanjhi of his offence and the girl confesses to the wife of the Jogmanjhi. Then the Jogmanjhi informs the headman of the village and also the parents on both sides. The bridegroom pays twelve rupees and a bull for the bride-price. The Jogmanjhi then takes this couple to the house of the bridegroom's parents with the headman and some other villagers. There they fix the date of the marriage. Then on a fixed day in the house of bridegroom the latter applies vermilion to the forehead of the bride; the bridegroom at the time of applying vermilion stands facing West and the bride facing East. [583]

Kiring-jawae: If the couple belongs to the same sept, the headman of the village calls for a Panchayat, and the decision of the Panchayat will always be negative i.e. no marriage will take place. The boy's father has to bear the expenses of the marriage of the girl to another man. Then the headman of her village arranges her marriage with a boy from a far off village. Here the bridegroom gets a cow and some money from the father of the guilty a boy andhis name is always kept secret. The ceremony is performed by placing the bride on a plate and the bridegroom applies vermilion on the parting of the hair of the bride and a feast is then given to the villagers. 584 848 614 [583]

Ghardi-Jawae Marriage: This kind of marriage is resorted to when a girl is the only child of her parents When a man has minor sons and grown-up daughter 583

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597 of the boy renounce him and declare him henceforth to belong to the new father; it is also declared that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father. When all this has been done the adopting father fixes a date for the formal adoption of the boy. The villagers of that village on that day behave as at Janam Chhatiar (name-giving ceremony of the Santal child). They shave and drink handi (rice beer). The usual procedure in a Janam Chhatiar is that the officiating midwife tells the assembled people the name of the new-born child; here she does not tell the name of the boy but the sept or sub-sept of the adopting father; henceforth that becomes the sept of the boy. Thereupon they leave the boy to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the tribal deities. Henceforward the boy becomes their own.

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627 **Bitlaha**: It means to outcast a Santal from society. This outcasting takes place by the order of the assembled members of the Panchayat. It is resorted to when a Santal woman indulges in sexual intercourse with either a diku (non-Santal) or with a person of the same sept. If any one commits such an offence the headman of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them of the matter; if the people hold that the case is not proven, then those who started the rumour are severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting and they proceed to carry it out the day after the annual hunt. The date of this Bitlaha is announced by a man in the market who carries a branch of a Sal tree (Shorea robusta) with leaves. The people in the market on seeing him understand the matter and count the leaves

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One of the aspects of Santal religion which could be more observed today in the social side rather than any religious belief and ceremonial, is the definite association of some of the exogamous clans and sub-clans with names of plants, trees and some animals, generally termed as totemism. Thus of the total of twelve clans nine are totemic and of the seventy-four sub-clans twenty-two are totemic, which are as follows :

Clans	Totems	Clans	Totems
Besra	Hawk	Hasdak	Wild-goose
Hembram	Betat-palm[1]	Marndi	Grass
Murmu	Nilgai	Saren	Constellation Pleiades
Pauria	Pigeon	Chore	Lizard
Bedea	Sheep		

Sub-Clans	Totems	Sub-Clans	Totems
Kahu	Crow	Kara	Buffalo
Chilbindha	Eagle-slayer	Jihu	Bird
Gua	Areca-nut	Kachua	Tortoise
Nag.	Cobra	Somal	Deer
Buru. birit.	Hill	Kekra	Crab
Roht.	Panjaun tree	Bear	Fish
Ganr.	Fort	Handi	Earthen-vessel
Sikiya	Chain	Barchi	Spear-men.
Mundu or Badar	Dense Jungle	Sidup	Bundle of straw
Agaria	Charcoal-burner	Dantela	Breed pigs with large tusks for sacrificial purposes.
Lat	Bake meat in a leaf platter.		
Reh-Lutur.	Ear-pierced.		

1 [Erratum: this should read "Betel-palm." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. x -- Analyst]

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• 614 None of these appear to be associated with the idea of culture heroes as amongst the Amerindians. [538] The folk-lore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, Panjaun tree, Sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these some of the clans' names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness such as chain, earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing mana and venerated as such and gradually getting associated with exogamous subdivisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of those useful objects. There is no [796] seasonal recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propogation of the animals or plants venerated as ancestors, as in Australia. There [784] is indeed some taboo in the use by the particular subclan of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But because of the observation of this taboo the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers. [796] It seems that their idea of bongas inhabiting all creeks and corners of nature, has been extended only to the region of certain animals and plants. In the folklore [773] the bongas are generally represented as using seats of [825] hooded cobras and certain serpents are naturally vene- [262] rated as clan-ancestors; on the other hand, the common water-snake (Dhamna) is eaten by almost all the Santals. Of the animals not eaten by the Santals all are not associated with clan-names such as the Frog, Gibbon, Elephant, Dog, etc.

771 If the religion of the Santals may thus be described 776 as veneration of a Supreme Being and reverential awe

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796 782 animals is eaten by the men. The only woman who gets a share is the wife of the priest. Drinking, dancing and singing are followed by young men and women of the village.

796 614 [184] **Jom Sim:** The *Jom Sim* is performed with many quaint ceremonies which differ somewhat for the different clans. That is why it is called clan festival. Mr. Culshaw recorded some stories from which it can be ascertained how it is connected with clan. "The Karwak Hasdak tell the story of how long ago their ancestors were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and all the Hasdak were present. They had performed the sacrifices and everyone had been served with rice and meat, but some of the younger folk present felt that they had not been given enough to eat, so they killed a buffalo, or kada, became known as Karwar Hasdak". The Soren Santal relate "that in the very early days the ancestors of the Soren were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and some of the company began to prepare the food and cook it. In imitation of Brahmin cooks they put on sacred threads and served all the people. From that time they became known as poita Soren".[1]

614 796 539 [179]

796 614 174 It is probably the oldest sacrifice the Santal have because it has more aboriginal features in it than any other sacrifice of theirs.

724 793 [221] [824] [211] **Dihri Hunting:** The *Dihri* hunting, which is the most important hunting of the Santals which takes place once a year in the month of Falgun (February and March). *Dihri*, their hunting priest carries a big branch of a *Sal* tree with leaves and goes to the market, where people

[1] W.J. Culshaw—Tribal heritage. 1949. pp. 74 and 75.

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The organization which binds groups of villages together is loose by comparison with the village system. The Santals distinguish between the various sections of the country in which their villages are situated, calling them *parganas*. Each *pargana* has a distinctive name, which may be either the name of a village situated within its borders or a general name. Over each of the *parganas* a *parganath* is supposed to have jurisdiction. McAlpin's report, the result of an inquiry instituted by the Bengal Government which led to the Tenancy Amendment Act of 1918, in addition to its main purpose of suggesting measures for the protection of Santal lands, dealt also with the condition of the Santal village system. McAlpin reported that the *pargana* system was far gone in decay, and it is not possible to question his conclusion. Binu Hâsdâk' of Tantidanga, late *parganath* of the Sarenga area, was typical of his class. His mind was well stored with the customary law of the tribe, and from time to time he was called in by nearby villages to help more particularly with disputes arising out of marriage tangles. He was personally popular and had some prestige as the possessor of valuable remedies against sickness, but on his own confession his authority was of a very limited kind. "What can I do", he once said, "unless the people of the village are agreed?" There is the crux of the situation; in the village, public opinion is a wellnigh irresistible force. Binu used, nevertheless, to go happily about his errands, for among other advantages which accrued he received a fee amounting to one rupee four annas when a guilty party was fined.

Kinship ties share with the well-knit village system the governance of the Santal's daily life, regulating his relationships with his fellows. The tribe is divided into clans, and each clan is again divided into sub-clans. The clan descends through the father, and when girls marry they are taken into the clans of their husbands. The clans have a totemistic basis and they are exogamous. Land is conceived of as belonging to the clan. Although individual and family ownership is now the rule, Santals will not countenance the transfer of land from one clan to another. The one exception for which allowance is made has been forced on them by economic necessity; it occurs in the case of a man without sons who brings his daughter's husband into his own house to carry on the cultivation, the son-in-law thereby acquiring rights in the property for descendants. The rights conferred by Hindu personal law on daughters in the property of their fathers or on wives in the property of their

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husbands are strenuously resisted by the Santals, and the fact that the civil courts administer the Hindu laws of succession leads to many cases of tension. In practice, certain rights are conceded to women for "humanitarian" reasons. To daughters who do not marry—a rare but not unknown phenomenon—and to widows, with or without children, the right to maintenance is given. Since the woman on marriage becomes a member of another clan, the succession to land cannot be carried through her.

Ties of kinship determine standards of behaviour to a great extent. Life in community is an art to be learnt, and the Santal has his own rigid standards of right conduct. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is one of deep intimacy and affection, which is no doubt fostered by the necessity for leaving the young children with the grandparents when both parents have to go out to work. The rules governing familiarity and its converse, avoidance, are based on kinship ties. The joking relationship, apart from grandparents and grandchildren, extends to his wife's younger sisters for a man and to her husband's younger brothers and her elder sister's husband for a woman. People within the circle of this relationship can talk freely with one another, indulging in jokes and calling each other names. Conversely, extreme care is called for in relationships which do not fall within this circle. A Santal child must behave with great respect to anyone who belongs to the same generation as his parents. Names are sparingly used between individuals, and relationship terms are the usual form of address. Husband and wife will on no account use each other's names, in distinction from the Hindu taboo, which is enjoined on the wife only. They behave circumspectly towards each other in public. A woman has to carry herself with care before her husband's elder brother. Her dress must at all times be properly arranged in front of him; she cannot sit with her legs dangling over the edge of a bed or the low veranda running round the house, her hair must be arranged, and she does not talk to him at all apart from the necessities of daily life. The rules extend to the finer forms of courtesy. Every Santal knows what is expected of him when he is meeting relatives—whether he has to make a deep obeisance to the ground before the person he has met, or whether he should wait for the other person to greet him first and then acknowledge the greeting by cupping his hands together and raising them towards his chest. A greeting between equals is performed by means of a

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CHAPTER 6

MYTHS AND THE CLAN ORGANIZATION

MANY of the social activities of the Santals are based on myths, and the strength of their clan organization is due in no small measure to its foundations in mythology. An examination of the intimate relationship between the two bears out the truth of such a statement as: "The sacred lore of the tribe is not a fanciful tale told in explanation of natural phenomena and inexplicable events, but a method of expressing certain ways of thinking and feeling about the facts of life and of regulating human actions."[1] When for any reason a piece of ritual associated with a myth falls into disuse, knowledge of that myth begins to die out; conversely, when the myth is looked upon as outmoded, the activity with which it is linked begins to lose its hold on the people's imagination. The Santal story of the origin of man and the division of the human race into clans does not appear to be known today in more than outline form, except by a very few, mostly of the older generation. It is recited in the village only on certain occasions—the *caco chatiar* ceremony, at which a child is formally admitted into the privileges of full membership in the tribe; the *Jom Sim* festival, an occasional clan celebration; and the *Karam* festival, which is an affair of the village. None of these institutions has a vigorous life in the area; the *caco chatiar* ceremony of today retains only a vestige of its ancient glory, the *Jom Sim* is very rarely performed, and the same is true of the *Karam* in its full form.[2] The village headman has to recite the myth, but not every headman now is capable of doing so. The decay of the ritual is leading to the disappearance of the ancient myth. It is nevertheless still true that these stories do reveal the Santal view of the world. When they are told they call forth assent, and frequently in ordinary conversation the myths are cited in order to point a moral or clinch an argument. Though there are few who are ready to recite the whole story, some part of it is still familiar to everyone.

The Santal story of the origin of man has been recorded in slightly varying form by different authorities.[3] It did not escape

[1] E. O. James, *Comparative Religion*, Methuen, 1938, p. 335.
[2] Further reference is made to these festivals in the chapter on "Festivals".
[3] The fullest account in English is in *Traditions and Institutions of the Santals*, translated with notes and additions by P. O. Bodding from the Santali text published in 1887 by L. O. Skrefsrud, edited (after the translator's death) by Sten Konow, Oslo, 1942.

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539 gander. The two birds laid two eggs in a clump of thatching grass. From those two eggs two humans were born, and they were *Pilcu Haṛam* and *Pilcu Buḍhi*.[1] They had twelve sons and twelve daughters, and at that time they were living at Hohelo Popelo. Once upon a time when they had all grown up they fell into difficulties over a famine, so *Pilcu Haṛam* took his twelve sons hunting, and *Pilcu Buḍhi* took her twelve daughters to the forest to gather edible leaves. Twelve years later they met again, and then they married each other, from the eldest son and daughter to the youngest. (This was sin.) There in Hohelo Popelo at the time of a food shortage they planted millet in the forest clearings. A certain female *murum*[2] took to coming every day to eat that planted millet, so the brothers went and fixed stakes all round it. As the *murum* could not get through the fence, it tried to jump over. It was pierced on the upright stakes and ran away, dying close by the place called Sangaṛiya. Next day all the brothers hunted it with bows and arrows. They followed the trail of its hoofs and blood, came upon it at Sangaṛiya, and there cut it up and ate the flesh.

• [614] At that time *Pilcu Haṛam* and *Pilcu Buḍhi* divided them into clans—*paris*—and taught them also about the spirits. They propped up in one place a silken cloth, a golden umbrella and a pointed stick, and welcomed the spirits. After a time in that place they did not have enough to eat, and so they came to Campa Gar. But there too they did not have enough to eat, and so they repented in their minds and set out to find the right way to live.[3] For twelve years they searched for the right way to live, and as they went they carried on their heads a large pig, an uncastrated male goat and a basket of rice. In their searching they came first of all to the Twisted Banyan tree, and there all their words were twisted. From there they went to the foot of the False *Atnak'* tree, and there all their words were falsified; nothing came right. Thence they went to the Broken *Matkom*, and there all their words were broken into pieces; nothing came right. Thence they came to the Pasty Ebony tree, and all their words were made into a thick paste. Thence once more they went to a waterhole, where *Liṭa* holding an axe was awaiting them. Near to that waterhole, therefore, they found the True *Sarjom* tree, and there they found the truth. It was while they were there that they said: 'O mother,

[1] Literally, "First old man" and "First old woman".
[2] A species of buck, *Portax tragocamelus*.
[3] A word exceedingly difficult to translate, *dhorom*, Sanskrit *dharmma*.

there a white hare jumped and passed along.' From there till the present day these words are used at weddings. All the festivals began from the time that they spent at the True *Sarjom* tree—the *Baha, Sohrae, Karam, Jom Sim, Bapla, Abge,* and many others.

At the time of their weddings they addressed *Pilcu Haṛam, Pilcu Buḍhi* and *Maraṅ Buru*:[1]

Greetings, Lord, Great Spirit, in the name of marriage
Two kinds of beer have we applied.
Here then we present them to you;
Here then do not importune us further, Lord.
Do not create either stomach or head pains.
So, Lord, may they laugh and talk together,
Accept our gifts and take them happily, Lord.
Today we are marrying these two, Lord.
May they live to a good old age,
May they become old man and old woman together, Lord.[2]

After cutting up the female *murum* and feasting and drinking, they two divided them all into clans while they were on their way home:

1. The original Hâsdāk' or Nij Hâsdāk'	
2. The one who ground down the horn	Mạrnḍi
3. The one who killed a sunbird ..	Soren Sipahi
4. The one who carried a deer	Hembrom
5. The one who killed an owl	Ṭuḍu
6. The one who killed a kingfisher ..	Kisku
7. The one who made a bundle of stale rice	Baske
8. The one who carried an umbrella over his head	Besra

[1] *Liṭạ* is the "proper name" of the chief spirit of the tribe, who is also known as *Maraṅ Buru*.

[2] The Santali text of this invocation is given here. It is a good example of a sacrificial prayer:

Johar Gosāē, Maraṅ Buru, bapla ñutumte
Jhardak' tapam dak' lagaogeya bajaogeya.
Tobekhan Gosāē ma tobe emam calam kanale
Tobekhan Gosāē abaṛte tobaṛte alom koeka ataṅka Gosāē.
Lac' hasu bohok' hasu alom sirjauk'a biḍauk'a Gosāē.
Ma tobe, Gosāē, landae baṛe kathaekin Gosāē,
Sukte saôārte ataṅtale telaetale Gosāē,
Teheṅ dole baplayet'kina Gosāē.
Aḍharu buḍharukok'makin
Haṛamko buḍhiko makin Gosāē.

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9. The one who killed a rough-necked iguana	Cōṛē
10. The one who killed a dove	Pạuriya
11. The one who killed a bushy-haired monkey	Ḍonka or Bhaduli
12. The one who restores us to tribal status	Murmu

After dividing the clans, *Pilcu Haṛam* and *Pilcu Buḍhi* questioned their daughters and their sons thus: 'Who are you?' The daughters said: 'We are grown up, we can carry pots of cold water on our heads.' The sons said: 'We are hard and strong, ploughs made from the *rot*[1] tree and sticks made from the *hesel*.' "[2]

539 The above narrative is a literal translation of the original. A comparison with other recorded versions shows that many incidents have been omitted, including some that must have been familiar to the narrator. He has made no reference to the story of a great rain of fire in which all except the first pair of human beings perished. The references made to the chief tribal deity of the Santals are almost incidental and do not include the story of how he first introduced himself to *Pilcu Haṛam* and *Pilcu Buḍhi* as their "grandfather" and taught them how to make rice beer, whereupon they became drunk and lost their innocence. The story as here presented does, on the other hand, relate the myth in clear fashion to the clan organization. The name of the Santals' original abode is usually given as Hihiṛi Pipiṛi; Hohelo Popelo may be a local variant. The account given of the early wanderings of the tribe is much abbreviated, but serves as a reminder that they are accustomed to living in and near forests and their ancestors were driven by want from one place to another in what they now consider was a rather futile manner. There have been some attempts to find an historic basis for the names of the localities mentioned in the traditions,[3] but without confirmatory evidence from other sources it has not proved possible to put forward any satisfactory explanation.

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614 The ancient story becomes real for the Santals of today at the point where it deals with the clans. It is worth noticing

[1] A forest tree, *Ougeinia dalbergioides*, Benth. A hard wood.
[2] A forest tree, *Anogeissus latifolia*, Wall.
[3] Cf. P. O. Bodding, *District Gazetteers: Santal Parganas*.

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It is worth noticing how the number "twelve" recurs in the traditions. Periods of twelve years are mentioned and twelve clans are named. Santal tradition is unanimous in talking of twelve clans, but there is little agreement about the names of the twelve. Santals using the clan suffix Ḍonka are unknown at the present day; local tradition says that they have changed their clan because of the odium attached to the murder of a monkey and the fact that they were reputed by some to sacrifice and eat monkeys. The conjecture of the narrator that the Ḍonka took the name of Bhaduli cannot be accepted. Two families in the area are known to have adopted the name Bhaduli, but they are members of a sub-clan of the Mạrṇḍi. One of the Bhaduli could relate little or nothing about the myths of his clan, but he remembered a song that celebrated an old quarrel between the Mạrṇḍi and the Kisku in which the former are referred to as Bhaduli and the latter as Koinḍa. The Bhaduli observe the same tabǫos as the rest of the Mạrṇḍi. P. O. Bodding gives the name of the lost clan as Bedea,[1] a title that is not known in the area. The great interest that Santals themselves take in the determination of these matters was well illustrated by a lively correspondence initiated by a number of educated Santals and carried on for some time during the year 1944 in the pages of the weekly paper *Pẹṛa Hoṛ*.[2]

The clans are exogamous and, with two exceptions, the members of one clan may marry a person belonging to any of the other clans. The first exception to the general rule prohibits a marriage between a Mạrṇḍi and a Kisku because of the quarrel in which these two clans were involved. The second prohibits the marriage of a Ṭuḍu and a Besra. The story behind this taboo was thus related by a member of the Ṭuḍu clan: "All twelve kinds of Ṭuḍu were exceedingly fond of dancing and singing, and they used to dance twelve dances in a single night. Well, one day two of the Ṭuḍu made a plan. Across the river from where they lived some girls of the Besra clan were engaged every day in grinding rice, and the youths thought to themselves: 'Tonight we shall get them out to dance the whole night through.' When they reached the river they found that it was in flood, and so they began to wonder how they would be able to get across. They walked along the bank looking out carefully till at last they found a creeping plant that stretched right across the river, its roots being on this side, while it was

[1] *Santali Dictionary*, Vol. IV, p. 396.
[2] Official organ of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, Dumka.

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614 173 held fast in a tree on the farther side. They crossed over by clinging to it, and then they began the dance, which did not finish before cockcrow. Just before they were due to return home someone from the village cut the creeper, but not so that they would notice it. They had their dancing-drums and their kettle-drums slung round their necks, and they were swinging over on their way home when suddenly they fell into the river. Now, the Besra girls were seven in number, and they had placed some fish traps into position farther down the river; as the two youths were being swept away they became caught in the fish traps. They became entangled in the trap that belonged to the family of the youngest of the Besra girls. Her six sisters became very annoyed at this and said: 'No, we shall take them. You are the youngest, and you should not be married while your elder sisters remain unmarried.' When the Ṭuḍu youths heard all this quarrelling they became very annoyed and said: 'From today we shall never marry a Besra girl.'"

Another version of the origin of the clans bears rather obvious traces of the influence of the surrounding culture by dividing them on an occupational basis after the analogy of Hindu castes. According to it, the Murmu became the priests, or Brahmins, of the tribe; a hint of this is found in the list given by Durlob Murmu, who places his own clan twelfth in the list and describes it as the clan of "the one who restores us to tribal status". The Soren were the warriors, or Kshattriyas; hence the addition to their name of the epithet *sipahi*, or "sepoy". The Maṛṇḍi were traders, the Kisku were *rajas*, the Ṭuḍu were drummers, and so on. This version, now widely current, is probably of comparatively recent date and may have arisen out of the need to compensate the Santals, or at least certain of the clans, for their low social status in the eyes of their caste Hindu neighbours.

614 The totemistic basis is very clearly marked, and in certain directions it still exercises a powerful influence on the habits of the Santals. The Hāsdāk' are always named first and they are the original clan. Their name is related to the goose and gander of the myth, from which the first human beings were born, and they do not eat either goose or duck. There can be no doubt in this case that descent from the totem animal is envisaged. On one occasion a member of the Hāsdāk' clan replied in answer to the question why they did not eat goose: "Because they are our brothers." Although presumably all Santals as well as the rest of

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the human race are also descended from the first pair, the prohibition against eating goose or duck flesh does not apply to the others. Some of the other clan names are either the same as that of the totem or are closely related to it. Mārṇḍi is the name of a weed that is common in the rice fields; Soren is the name of the constellation Pleiades, though there appears to be no knowledge of a myth connecting the two; Ṭuḍu certainly suggests the sound made by drums; Hembrom suggests *hotrin* for deer; Kisku is not unlike *kikir*, a generic name for kingfishers; Baske is one of the words that mean "stale rice", and Murmu suggests *murum*, the buck of the traditions whose flesh the Murmu do not eat. On the other hand, it is not possible at this date to explain all the names by this type of association.

Tradition says that each of the twelve clans, or *paris*, are divided into twelve sub-clans, or *khût*. The myth about the Ṭuḍu refers to "all twelve kinds of Ṭuḍu". At the present day in the case of most of the clans there are in fact many more than twelve sub-clans. These sub-clans do not affect the rules governing marriage outside the clan. Some of the sub-clan names are found in more than one clan, and while it is unusual for the member of a sub-clan in one clan to marry a member of the corresponding sub-clan in another clan, there is no absolute barrier preventing such marriages. Inquiries made in the Santal Parganas[1] led to the tabulation of two hundred and seventy-seven different sub-clans distributed among the eleven known clans. Many of them are found under more than one clan. All those which are common to more than one clan are found also in the Bankura district, but some of the other names are unknown there, while others that are found in the Bankura district do not seem to appear farther north. Each of the sub-clans possesses a distinctive myth and also customs that differentiate it from the others, while the same is of course true of the clans. These customs affect life at many points. Apart from marriage, the taboos determine in some cases the type of ornaments which may be worn, the type of houses that may be built, and the kinds of food which must not be eaten. They are also linked with the worship of the spirits, for there are special clan and sub-clan sacrifices.

In each clan there is a division that is taken to have been the original sub-clan, the word *Nij* being prefixed to the clan name. Here, for example, is an account of the Nij Mārṇḍi: "They are

[1] J. Gausdal, "The Khût System of the Santals", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1941.

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one of the original twelve *khūṭ*. They are not allowed to have spots made on them and they will not be vaccinated, but they may be cicatrized; however, their daughters and sisters are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. The unmarried men are not allowed to wear any garment made from jute. They must not plaster their houses with any other than white earth; and they may not draw any pictures on the walls except plantain trees and date palms or figures that look like pictures of temples, drawn with three fingers only. They make their sacrifice at the time of the *Sohrae*; this is performed in the house, and they sacrifice a pig. One year it must be a male uncastrated pig and the next year a female, and if for any reason they cannot get hold of a pig they may sacrifice a black hen. They should sacrifice to their sub-clan spirit in the shelter of a white ant hill,[1] but in these days they bring some earth from the ant hill into the house and sacrifice there."

In a Sarenga schoolboy's essay on the origin of his own clan, he began by relating the creation of mankind and finally continued: "All the Sorens were the soldiers of the Kisku, who were the owners of the village at Campa Gaṛ. The Maṛṇḍi lived at Cirunala, and between the two villages there flowed the Sitanala river. They began to quarrel with each other because the people of the two villages had to use the same river for bathing and for drinking water. Now, since the Soren were the soldiers of the Kisku, they are like the Gurkhas of Nepal. Just as the Gurkhas are fierce and do not fear death, so too the Soren." So is virtue inculcated by fostering pride in the clan. One of the sub-clans of the Soren is the Poita Soren. *Poita* is the word—as pronounced by the Santals—for the sacred thread of the Brahmin. They relate that in the very early days the ancestors of the Soren were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and some of the company began to prepare the food and cook it. In imitation of Brahmin cooks they put on sacred threads and served all the people. From that time they became known as Poita Soren. When they sacrifice to their sub-clan spirit they sacrifice to him alone, and the offering has to consist of a male uncastrated pig. The rite is performed at sunrise. They may eat the flesh at any time during that day and the following night, and if they are unable to finish it they must bury it before the following sunrise

[1] For references to the sanctity of white ant hills see *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, by W. Crooke, C.I.E., p. 380. The belief is widespread in India. "From early times the earth from an ant hill has been regarded as specially pure, representing 'the savour of the earth', and it was, and is, used in building altars."

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in the dung heap. Another Soren sub-clan is known briefly as the Sidup' Soren, and the name is connected with a custom followed when they are making their sub-clan sacrifice. The man squats on the ground in the courtyard of the house holding before him a sheaf of paddy. Meanwhile his wife squats nearby with her back to her husband. He passes the sheaf over his head to his wife, who receives it with her hands lifted above her head and takes it into the house. She may not perform this service if she has formerly been the wife of another man and is either a widow or has been divorced. The women of this sub-clan cannot wear a *campa*[1] flower in their hair.

There are two stories current concerning the origin of the Cilbinda Hasdak', or the Hasdak' who killed a kite. One of them states: "In the days of the early ancestors many very wonderful things used to happen. At that time kites were causing a great deal of trouble throughout the countryside. Every day they used to snatch away not only men's chickens but also the grown fowl, and in addition they used to take kids, young pigs and children. In this way they were the cause of much sorrow to men. Seeing this state of affairs, one of the Hasdak' brothers who was working out in the fields hid behind his clod-crusher and shot a kite through the hole in the middle, and from that time his family got the name." An even more suggestive version is more widely known. An old man belonging to this sub-clan told the story thus: "Formerly our ancestors fell into great difficulties. They were engaged in transplanting rice seedlings and had plucked them from the seedling beds, but there was no rain and so they could not proceed with the transplanting. Now, there was a kite perched in a tree adjoining the field. They shot it, and the blood moistened the land so that they were able to carry on with their work."

The claim to belong to the original sub-clan is made by many people belonging to various other divisions. Binu of Tantidanga made this claim for the sub-clan to which he belonged. He was a Jihu Hasdak' and he used to say: "They were the first of the lot." The name is derived from the fact that while their ancestors were hunting in the Khandarae forest they ate the flesh of the *jihu*[2] bird. Since that time they will never eat it, nor will they touch anything that is deep blue in colour, lest people say that they are touching the blue eggs of the jihu bird.

[1] *O. hna squarrosa*, L.

[2] There are two kinds of birds so named. The *Bhomra jihu* is the Bengal Babbler, *Malacocercus terricolor*, and the *fonum jihu* is the green Babbler, *Chalorius striatus*.

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they are touching the blue eggs of the *jihu* bird. The Hāsdāk' do not even touch a goose, and they will not take water from a tank in which geese or ducks are swimming at the time. Binu used to say that he had to perform four different sub-clan sacrifices. To two of the spirits pigs were sacrificed in the cowshed at the time of the *Sohrae*, to another spirit they sacrificed a goat in the house at the end of the *Sohrae*, and to the fourth they sacrificed a ram on the open land outside the village at the time of the Spring festival. The Kaṛwar Hāsdāk' tell the story of how long ago their ancestors were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and all the Hāsdāk' were present. They had performed the sacrifices and everyone had been served with rice and meat, but some of the younger folk present felt that they had not been given enough to eat, so they killed a buffalo and served that as well. The family of the one who slew the buffalo, or *kuḍa*, became known as Kaṛwar Hāsdāk'. They sacrifice a pig, a white hen and a brown hen at the time of the *Sohrae*; the rite is performed inside the house at sunset, and they must finish eating the flesh during the night, burying whatever is left over in the dung heap. The Hatibaṛi[1] Hāsdāk' sacrifice either a white hen or a ram to their sub-clan spirit. This should be done out in the open beside a white ant hill, but, like some others, they now bring a piece of earth from the ant hill into their cowshed. Like the Nij Maṛṛḍi, of whom this is also true, they may not be vaccinated, but their womenfolk may be tattooed.

The Jihu Hāsdāk' are not allowed to brand their cattle. There seems little reason to doubt the fact that most of the clans use distinctive marks in branding their cattle. Bodding has affirmed of the *ḍhera dag*, or cross, that although it is used as a mark of ownership of cattle "it is not restricted to any sept or sub-sept".[2] (The word "clan" has been adopted in this book in preference to "sept".) In the Bankura district, however, many of the branding marks are definitely associated with the clans, and the marks correspond to those recorded by Charulal Mukherjea in Mayurbhanj.[3] The marks printed on the opposite page have been noticed in Bankura.

The Guą or Betel nut Hembrom constitute one of the most numerous of the Hembrom sub-clans. Of them it is said that "a few days after the ancestors had been divided into clans, one of the Hembrom was born at the foot of a betel nut tree. When he

[1] Literally "elephant house", but the name may refer to a locality.
[2] *Santals Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 274.
[3] Charulal Mukherjea, *The Santals*, p. 77.

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grew to manhood he became a very important person and his sons were known as Guą Hembrom. From that time they gave up the chewing of the betel nut. The women may wear any kind of *sari* and they may wear shell bracelets. They do not eat eels. It is said that their ancestors were great traders, and once upon a time when they were going on a trading expedition they were halted by a flooded river. At that an eel ferried them over the river on his back, and since then the Guą Hembrom will not eat eels. They sacrifice pigs at the *Sohrae*, also one white and one brown hen." Another member of this sub-clan was able to throw further light on the origin of the name: "We are Guą Hembrom, and this is how we got our name. During the first wanderings, one day while the ancestors were out in the forest a child was born at the roadside. They wondered what they could find to tie

Rot Mąrndi - //

Hembrom - +

Nij Murmu - X

Ṭika Murmu - II

Sidup Soren - Z

round the waist of the new-born child in place of the string. It was growing dark, so they quickly cut down the stem of a creeper, not knowing what it was, and bound it round his waist. Next morning they say that there was a betel nut on the end of the stem, and so the Guą Hembrom began." The Nij Hembrom, like others already noted, perform their sub-clan sacrifices in the cowshed at the time of the *Sohrae*, with a piece of earth from a white-ant hill for the altar. It is set up in one of the corners. Another of their sacrifices is performed in the same month and has certain unusual features. No preparations may be made until after the sun has set and all the participants have already taken their usual evening meal, including the one who will perform the sacrifice. The rite is performed outside the village on a site that has been smoothed and plastered with cowdung. The person officiating draws a circle on the site with a paste made from flour and water. In it he first offers a red hen

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and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saris* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *hasli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hāsdāk', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

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the centre forms the apex of a triangle. The main beam rests on these walls with rafters sloping from it down to the other two walls. The resulting roof has only two thatches, sloping to the front and the back of the house respectively. The Gar or Fort Murmu are able to provide but little information about their origin, but they maintain their distinctive tradition in the matter of the sub-clan sacrifice. It is performed during the month October-November out in one of their own rice fields. The one sacrificing has to observe the customary abstinence of priests during the previous night, and the sacrifice takes place just after the sun has risen in the morning. A circle of flour paste is made on a spot levelled and cleaned for the purpose, and a larger circle of white stones is constructed round it. All who are going to partake of the flesh have to remain within this enclosure. First of all they sacrifice a black hen, which can be eaten by men only. Next they sacrifice a pig, the flesh of which may be eaten by the women as well. After this they sacrifice a white hen and finally a brown hen, and again it is only the men who may partake of these. The gathering and the attendant feasting last through the whole day, and they return to their houses at nightfall, leaving no food. They believe that some misfortune will fall on them if they have not finished eating while daylight lasts.

There is a sub-clan of the Ṭuḍu known as the Kāṛā or Blind Ṭuḍu which is accounted for in the following way: "The first Kāṛā Ṭuḍu placed a torn cloth behind the fireplace in his house. In the evening when his wife went to cook she found the cloth there and cooked the supper herbs wrapped up in it. Then the man who had put the cloth down came to look for it, and not seeing it behind the fireplace he asked his wife if she had seen it. 'Yes,' she replied, 'it must be the one in which I wrapped the supper herbs.' They raked out the fire and the ashes and saw that she had in fact burnt that cloth."

Many of the points that have been raised in this chapter cannot be understood apart from matters that are dealt with in subsequent chapters. The stories have been gathered together in this way in order to bring out the fact that in the clan system of the Santals and in the myths that form its background there is a key to the understanding of nearly everything that is distinctive in their way of life. The clan organization regulates their behaviour within the tribe and their dealings with the spirits. They accept its rule without question, and so long as they live in closely knit village communities this system, with its manifold implications, will continue to control their lives.

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and in fact it is used extensively as a storeroom, particularly for stacking the bundles of reserve rice. Any man may pass through this opening, but no woman may do so unless she belongs to the family living there. The daughters of the house are debarred from going into the *bhitar* after they have married. After marriage a woman belongs to her husband's family, and this prohibition is one of several that are enforced with a view to ensuring that she shall not bring calamity on her husband's house by continuing to have dealings with the spirits of her father's home. She has to remove herself from their influence. Within the *bhitar* dwells the house spirit, and it is also visited by the ancestors of the family. There offerings of food and beer are made to the immediate ancestors. In certain instances sub-clan sacrifices are made in this inner room. The names of the spirits to whom the sub-clan sacrifices are made are kept secret. The knowledge of these names is handed down within each family from the father to the eldest son or other heir, and under no circumstances should it be imparted to others. An instance was reported of a man who was in deep distress because his father had died without his having had an opportunity of learning the name of the *abge*, as this spirit is called. He hoped to learn the name from one of his father's brothers, but this person also died before he could pass on the information. Shortly afterwards his dead uncle appeared to him in a dream and revealed the name, and he confirmed the correctness of the information by visiting yet another uncle who knew the secret. This story shows that the rules of silence are not too strictly observed within the family circle. Women are not allowed to learn the name, and in most cases they are excluded from participating in the sacrificial meal. The same prohibition applies to sons-in-law, though one of the Soren sub-clans is allowed to leave a portion of the food from the meal for their sons-in-law. When they summon them to eat, however, they address them as they would the household dogs, which emphasizes their separation from the family and from the sub-clan.

Some features of the Santal cult, as well as an indication of the ways in which it may develop, can be illustrated by a description of the shrine that stands on the outskirts of the village of Sarenga. This village was at first a Santal settlement, but it is now a place of nearly two thousand inhabitants, most of whom are Bengali Hindus. The present-day Santal inhabitants number barely one hundred, but amongst them are some who claim descent from the founders of the village, who lived,

so they say, nine generations ago.

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of the opposite sex. On the first night the young people go through the village conducting the ceremony known as "waking the cattle". There is much drumming and dancing outside each of the cowsheds, and the cattle are feasted and decorated; small white circles made of flour are painted on their hides, vermilion is placed on their horns and heads. When all the cattle in the village have been "wakened", the young men go round once more for the "blessing" of the cattle. They are garlanded and fed with sweetmeats, and the blessing is pronounced as a hope that they will be protected from the dangers of disease and witchcraft, from thieves and the depredations of wild animals during the coming year. This "blessing" is pronounced by the women.

Other ceremonies are performed on the following days. The whole celebration may last either for three or for five days. At one time during the festival the young men of the village lock the bailiff in his home, and he is not allowed to come out until he has promised to treat them all to a drink of beer. During the second day of the festival the sub-clans perform the sacrifices to their *abge* spirits. These sacrifices are also preceded by ceremonial bathing on the part of the members of the households concerned, and the men take to the waterside their hunting implements, bows and arrows, axes and spears. The head of the house officiates, and the sacrificial animals are set apart in the same way as for the village sacrifices, having vermilion in oil placed on their heads, their shoulders and their hoofs. The flesh of the animals is, however, cooked separately from the rice with which it is eaten. On the second day also the cattle are baited. A bull is tied to a post, and the group of men who gather round it begin to infuriate the beast by persistent drumming. One or two of the men at a time, holding before them the skin of a dead animal, engage in mock combat with the bull, leaping at it and inciting it to plunge at them with its horns. The pastime continues for several hours and sometimes results in accidents. It is a happy season for the herdboys; they receive presents of cloth and are well fed by their masters. On the last night of the festival the unmarried men and girls sleep at the house of the *jogmaṅjhi* in token of the fact that their period of licence is at an end.

The remaining festivals of the Santal year do not make the same stir throughout the countryside. *Mokor* is the name used in the area by Santals and non-Santals alike for the festival which takes place in mid-January. In some places it is called

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law", comes to live there. This arrangement is common to all agricultural communities in Bengal. Among the Santals no bride price has to be paid, and in some instances the marriage ceremony is postponed till the end of a trial period during which the youth lives in the home of his future father-in-law and works for him without wages. He is accepted as the girl's husband when he is known to be a good worker, and thereby he also establishes his claim to receiving a portion of the land when his father-in-law dies. He does not change his clan, for this he cannot do, but he and his heirs can inherit from his wife's father. Hence this form of marriage furnishes the only exception to the rule that land must not pass out of the possession of the clan.

The term for divorce comes from the symbolic act that accompanies it. It is *sakam oree'*, or "leaf tearing". There are two sufficient reasons for a man to divorce his wife. The first is infidelity and the second is witchcraft. As marriage is a contract that involves two villages, representatives of both villages are summoned to sanction the divorce. The bride's father is compelled to return the bride price and the husband makes formal declaration of the divorce. He takes a *sarjom* leaf between his hands and tears it down the centre in token of the dissolution of the marriage tie. Then he has to provide a meal for those who have been summoned to the council. Owing to the fact that the bride price has to be repaid to the husband's family, the parents of the bride frequently object to the action, and where the guilt of the wife requires to be proved the proceedings may drag on for several months. If her parents can show that some blame attaches to the husband they can retain the bride price, and this they usually wish to do even when they do not desire their daughter to be reinstated in her husband's home. Until the bride price has been repaid the formal dissolution cannot take place.

A wife cannot formally divorce her husband, but she can, and sometimes does, refuse to continue to live with him. The problem of the runaway wife is one that is continually exercising the Santal village community, a fact that suggests the existence of many underlying strains. The mother-in-law is frequently blamed. In one family well known to me the wife of the younger son ran to her own home during the cultivation season in several successive years. At that time her presence was greatly needed to help with the fields, and she asserted her rights by running away. Her own explanation was that her mother-in-law made her work too hard and did not give her enough to eat. She remained with her own parents, who were not unwilling to feed

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764 properly until the corpse has been thoroughly consumed. When it is over the onlookers begin to search among the embers for the *jaïbaha*, literally the "bone-flower". I have never met a Santal who has been able to explain the meaning of the term. Three pieces of bone are collected, two from the skull and one piece of the collar bone. The turmeric paste and the sun-dried rice flour are mixed together and used to clean the bones; the small earthen pot in which the turmeric was carried is cleaned in the fire, and when it is dry the inside is again cleaned with some of the paste, after which the bones are put into it. The mouth of the pot is then stopped up with a fragment of earthenware and is sealed with some of the same paste; a small hole, however, is left in the centre of the lid "to enable the dead one to breathe". The remains of the fire are put out with great care. One of the men brings water from nearby, using the water pot brought from the house for this purpose; others sprinkle water and one man scatters the ashes with the winnowing fan. If the [787] fire should rekindle it is thought to be a great misfortune. Men would have to be collected to put it out once more and the bereaved family would be made to pay a fine to the rest of the village. When the fire is out the ashes are brought together in a small space and the rest of the site is cleaned with a plaster of cowdung and water. The parched rice is then sprinkled over the cleaned space, and this is known as "sowing" the rice, the same term being used as for the similar procedure during the marriage ceremony. Finally, the corpse bearers and the one who saw to the fire have to cross the ashes from south to north. The remaining ashes are covered over with the winnowing fan, and each of them in turn then leaps over with his left hand lightly resting on the fan as he does so. The party then leave the cremation ground and the pot containing the bones is buried at the base of a tree.

The members of the funeral party then bathe, after which they return to the end of the village street, where they light a small fire, using the straw from the roof of the house. They burn the cotton seeds together with some resin and oil cake, and holding their hands into the thick smoke they rub it all over themselves. On completing this operation they collect once more at the bereaved home to comfort the family and to drink [614] beer. On this occasion no one who belongs to the same clan as [273] the dead person and his family may partake of the beer.

765 The next phase in the ceremonies is known as *tel nahan*, or "oil washing", and alternatively it is spoken of as *umul ader*, or

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794 779 177 178 [152] The most important cause of tension is the acceptance of a theology—a new myth, as it may be called—that results in a new ordering of religious activities and social obligations. The shadowy figure of the Supreme Being is invested with personality and comes into the centre of consciousness. He is not merely the Creator to whom little is ascribed except a vague reference as the dispenser of good and bad weather; He is vitally concerned with human conduct. The stories of Genesis are grafted on to conceptions that are already held and affect the latter. The story of the Jews is appreciated as that of a people who suffered through a long history from oppression, and the story of the wanderings appeals to the Santal. It is altogether fitting that the One Saviour of all mankind should be born of a people with whom the Santal feels that he has much in common. The traditional story of the origin of mankind is held to supplement the biblical narrative. In preaching, the Santal constantly refers to Adam and Eve as *Pilcu Haṛam* and *Pilcu Budhi*; *Maraṅ Buru*, on the other hand, is equated with Satan, and the cult of worship that he instituted is regarded as a deception imposed on the Santals. To the Santal who has been led in any degree to appreciate the Christian teaching about God, the identification of *Maraṅ Buru* with Satan seems to be obvious. He led the first human pair into sin and revealed to them the secret of sexual intercourse, for which the polite name among the Santals is always *baṛic' kaṃi*, or evil work. He caused their ancestors to wander through the forests and finally foisted on them the cult of the spirits centring in the worship of himself. It follows that there are certain things which a Christian may not do. They are cut off from any activity that savours of worship of the tribal spirits. They do not contribute in cash or in kind to the offerings associated with the village festivals. This in turn excludes them from the communal rejoicing, the dancing and the feasting which take place during the festivals. At such times they are frequently the only sober persons in the village. It is impossible to live in a village at the time of the great Spring and Harvest festivals without becoming acutely aware of the gulf which divides the Christians from their neighbours, and without realizing that the Christians are themselves deeply conscious of the gulf. The same is true of the clan sacrifices; but it is interesting to observe that rules of behaviour which are linked with the mythology of the clans still regulate the conduct of the village Christian to a very large extent. A Murmu who has a clan taboo against building a house with four sloping sides to the roof continues to live in the style of house

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enjoined by custom. Food taboos and those relating to dress and ornament are respected and the rules governing clan exogamy are accepted without question. The reason underlying these facts is probably that even when the myth has been discredited the code of behaviour is charged with emotions that continue to enforce it as long as the village environment has been little affected.

In their attitude to the ancestor cult many of the Christians have evolved a compromise. Some families known to me started their Christian life on the basis of a bargain with the spirits. In one village in particular where there are now eight Christian households in a community of twenty-eight families, at least three of the original families to be converted left one of the brothers outside the Church. The unbaptized members of these families were charged with the responsibility of maintaining the fellowship of the family with their ancestors. As one of those concerned said: "If the offerings had not been continued, then the ancestors might have shown their displeasure at all the children becoming Christian." Others who have become Christians continue to make offerings. In no case have I ever been able to discover evidence that Christians make any animal offerings, but during the festival which takes place at the end of the month of *Pus* many Christians make the cakes that are traditionally associated with the festival and make offerings of them to their immediate forbears. The family, represented by the living and the dead, continues to be a focus of powerful sentiments, and the Christians are evidently aware of a void in the teaching that they have received in regard to it.

The identification of *Maran Buru* with Satan incidentally provides a mythological foundation for propaganda in favour of total abstinence, for it was he who taught the first parents to brew beer. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which such propaganda has had the desired effect among the Christian community. Some of its members are known and respected as total abstainers, a fact that illustrates the introduction of a changed standard of values. On the other hand, the majority of village Christians certainly drink beer. The attitude of the community towards the older people who indulge is tolerant, and the habit is explained largely by the fact that the provision of beer is important in showing hospitality towards visitors. Drunkenness, however, is not condoned and it is certainly no longer a form of communal rejoicing. Drinking to excess, where it occurs, has become a private habit surrounded with secrecy.